

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
Hon. Benjamin Harrison
PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.
With a Concise Biographical Sketch
OF
Hon. Whitelaw Reid
EX-MINISTER TO FRANCE.
By GEN. LEW WALLACE
The Eminent Soldier, Author and Statesman
AND
HON. MURAT HALSTEAD
The Veteran (Forty Years) Journalist

ALSO CONTAINING ABLE ARTICLES SHOWING THE GREAT
BENEFITS TO THE NATION SECURED BY PRO-
TECTION RECIPROCITY, POSTAL REFORM,
ETC., ETC., BY THE ABLEST
AUTHORITIES

RICHLY ILLUSTRATED

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE is an interesting study of history and character in the records of the lives of the Republican candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. Both were born in the Miami country—watered by the two Miami rivers, the Great and the Little, in Southwestern Ohio. Benjamin Harrison's birthplace is near the mouth of the Great Miami, and Whitelaw Reid was born on the headwaters of the Little Miami. The group of counties in this part of Ohio, Hamilton, Butler, Preble, Montgomery, Warren, Greene, speak for the officers of the army of the Revolution as plainly as the city of Cincinnati, named for the society they formed. Harrison is a native of Hamilton, and Reid of Greene County, and the Miami University, where both graduated, is in Butler, thirty miles north of the Harrison and fifty miles west of the Reid farm. Both had sharp struggles to obtain college education, and each upon graduation felt that he had but begun the more serious part of his educational experience.

Harrison gave his energies with enthusiasm to the law and Reid was ardently devoted to journalism. Harrison was the strongest all-round law-

yer in his State for twenty years, and Reid has been for as long one of the first journalists in the country. Harrison, when the utmost gravity of the war was known, entered the army under circumstances that made his devotion remarkable, and acquitted himself with bravery and ability in the discharge of every duty—at Resaca leading his brigade sword in hand, at Peach Tree Creek taking the responsibility to advance his line, saving the division from surprise on disadvantageous ground.

Reid became a war correspondent, was in the West Virginia campaign of Rosecrans against Lee, and distinguished as witness and historian of Shiloh and Gettysburg.

The first administration of President Harrison will have ability and honor, for the new States in the Union, completing the arch of States between the oceans, for the expansion of an American system comprehensive of the hemisphere; for protection of industry and reciprocity in commerce; for the dignity of the Nation in controversy with other nations, taking the hazard of war and finding peace consistent with honor. Our flag was never higher or brighter, our credit never clearer or stronger. We have attained and shall maintain pride of place among the great powers. It is the public opinion of all States and sections that the affairs of government are in strong, safe hands.

Reid's journal has helped journalism through indifference to personalities and betterment of methods. As Minister to France he has aided to open new markets for our farmers, and has served the two great republics.

The ticket, Harrison and Reid, has the grace of harmony and a symmetry of construction. The first President Harrison, a native of Virginia and citizen of Ohio, was the link between the two mothers of Presidents, Virginia and Ohio. It is remarkable that all the Republicans elected since the war were Ohio born—Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Harrison—and with the ticket before us the fashion cannot change.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

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GEN. BENJAMIN HARRISON: A BIOGRAPHY.

BY

GENERAL LEW. WALLACE,
AUTHOR OF "BEN HUR."

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY.

EVERY citizen is free to contend for honor and preferment in our country, and the contention is perpetual. A peculiarity of the struggle is that the whole people witness the start, the effort, and the outcome. When at length a contestant emerges from the throng, and lays his hand upon one of the great prizes, every spectator demands to know all there is knowable of him. The subject of this sketch has reached that point in a distinguished political career, and it is to at least partially gratify the hunger of the multitude for information of the man that these pages are respectfully offered them.

There will never be a perfect biography that does not tell the reader who its subject is, and what, aside from his name and the place and date of his birth. That will be the best biography which gives us the incidents of his life, and at the same time an insight into his nature and character; so that, when we have risen from the reading, it will be possible to say and believe we know him in and out, and that he is worthy or unworthy our respect and confidence.

To every life there is a beginning and an end; it is the same in the narration of lives, only the difficulty in the latter is to find the true beginning. That difficulty is before the writer now.

Undoubtedly the American people, when sitting in judgment upon an individual who has ventured to claim their attention and bespeak their good will, care little for his ancestry. It is the person himself that is on trial. They know that good fathers have base children; and in such cases the invocation of the worthy progenitors, by exciting compassion for them as a result of comparison, but intensifies the opinion invariably reached respecting the descendants. On the other hand, if the record discloses a scion in whom the noble traits of his forefathers are continued and yet further exemplified, the same people rejoice at the discovery and make haste to take him into favor. In fact this is the American law of the case—well for the parent if he have a worthy son, well for the son if he have had a worthy parent.

With such a view of the law, there would be no hesitation on the part of the writer in dealing with the ancestry of the Benjamin Harrison whose life he is called upon to give. There is no fear of the consequences of fair comparison. The traits that endeared the forefathers to their countrymen will be found in the descendant. The qualities of mind that raised them to distinction

have been not less promotive of him. Their devotion to freedom, to the good of the masses, to principle, to truth and God, he has equally illustrated. They were wise in peace; so is he. Their courage in war has been a matter of emulation with him. They were willing to be offered in sacrifice for their country; he has made it possible for his generation to believe them sincere in the offer.

The question, however, admits of another view. Simple literary requirement bids that notice be taken of the antecedent Harrisons. A man's history is often found quite as much in what has gone before his birth as in what has succeeded it. Omission of the first part would leave his biography but half written. If the reader is careless of the first part, he is at liberty to skip it: nevertheless, as certainly as a book has a reader, it has also a critic. We take the liberty of giving this chapter to the ancestry of Benjamin Harrison, the Republican candidate for a second term as President.

THOMAS HARRISON.

There was in the first half of the sixteenth century a Thomas Harrison, known as Harrison the Cromwellian. It is thought that he began life as a vendor of beef in the open market, and he might have continued such indefinitely in his native England but for the quarrel between Charles I. and Parliament. Macaulay has made

it unnecessary to speak at length of the points involved in that dispute. Briefly stated, the king claimed certain privileges by prerogative right. Parliament denied the claim, and protested against it in the name of the people of England. There-tofore there had been English kings and barons; then for the first time an English people was distinctively heard of. The dispute was waged through a long term of years. Parliaments came and went at the royal pleasure. At last one assembled to stay. In the meantime battles had been fought, and war grew into a normal condition of the country, finally involving Cromwell and his Roundhead battalions. With reputation born of hard fighting and much praying, not to speak of a skillful use of Scriptural phrases, illustrative of sincere religious convictions, up, one of many, rose Thomas Harrison. Swapping his butcher's apron for a martial cloak, he at length appeared a Lieutenant-General, beloved by the companies, trusted by Cromwell. Nor were his talents of exclusive application to the field. One great day he was found in his seat, a member of the Parliamentary Court in session for the trial of Charles I. There is an historical picture of the assemblage in ruffs and broad-brimmed, steeple-crowned hats, sitting solemn as ghosts, with the king over against them face-to-face. A company of ghosts had been doubtlessly of pleasanter aspect and sweeter effect to the monarch's troubled soul.

Lieutenant-General Harrison was amongst them. Though now unrecognizable, we know he was there because his signature, in a hand clear, legible, almost as bold as John Hancock's on an instrument of yet greater celebrity, may be read below the death-warrant which was the final resolution of the high court. Opposite it is his seal in red wax on which, singularly enough, is stamped an eagle winged like the bird on our silver dollar.

The staunchness of the man was subsequently tested. Upon the return of the royalists to power, like other regicides, he might have fled to America, and found refuge in its impenetrable woods. That, however, was not his way. He remained at home, was seized, summarily convicted, and executed. Pepys was an eye-witness of the execution, and saw the heart of the round-head Lieutenant-General borne round as evidence that the son of the king had come to his own again.

This Thomas Harrison, right-hand man of the great English Protector, has been claimed by certain historians as ancestor of the American Harrisons. The proofs do not exactly sustain the assertion. The date of the emigration of the descendants of the unfortunate soldier is wanting. In fact it is not positively known that he had descendants to emigrate. Still a tradition in the family holds him one of them, and it is corroborated by the probabilities. England under

Charles II. would have been an unpleasant residence for children of a regicide. The inducements to fly to Virginia were irresistible. But whatever of truth there may be in the claim that Thomas Harrison the Cromwellian was a fore-father of the present candidate for the Presidency is of little consequence, except as it may establish that the family is of Roundhead origin versus Cavalier, and that its founder, rising from the people, fought and died for the people. Wherever the dust of the heart torn from his breast for the perfection of the revenge of a tyrant may be, pity that it is unrecognizable! There would be one at least to hold it sacred. Wherever his bones were buried, if burial they had, peace to them!

BENJAMIN HARRISON, THE SIGNER.

The next ancestor of whom we hear is of positive identity.

There is a genealogical tree of the Carters of Virginia of elaborate and careful preparation on which appears the name of one Benjamin Harrison, of Berkley. He secured his place on the record by virtue of intermarriage with the Carters. A little further on appears a second Benjamin Harrison, also of Berkley, and he has the immortal inscription attached to his name—
SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. He is recorded as having married a Miss Bassett.

Thenceforward the genealogy of the American Harrisons is removed from doubt.

The Carter tree referred to shows several children born to the second Benjamin, of whom William Henry Harrison was second son.

There was great glory in being a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Still it might have been a fortuity. Happy accidents are of daily occurrence. Let us turn to history and see what kind of man the signer was. In what esteem did his contemporaries and fellow-citizens hold him? The answer may surprise a great many readers. It is right, moreover, to measure his influence and capacity by the honors of which he died possessed.

In 1764, when little more than a boy, he was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, of which he quickly became Speaker.

This was in provincial days. Attracting notice of the royal governor, that worthy sought to win him to his side. Directly that the excitement caused by the passage of the Stamp Act arose, young Harrison was offered a seat in the Executive Council. He rejected the overture. Throwing off all reserve, he proclaimed himself a Republican, and from that time was a leader in the opposition to British oppression.

In 1774 he was one of the first seven delegates from Virginia to the Continental Congress.

In 1775 he was re-elected delegate to Congress.

In the same year he was of the committee appointed by Congress to co-operate with George Washington, then chief commander of the army before Boston, in devising ways and means for military operations.

In 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was under consideration by Congress in committee of the whole, he was in the chair presiding. On the 4th of July he voted for the Declaration, and on the 4th of August signed it.

In 1777 he resigned his seat in Congress, but was at once elected a Burgess, and upon taking his seat in the House was chosen Speaker, and remained such until 1782. Arnold invading Virginia, Harrison was made commander of the militia of his county, and rendered good service in repelling the traitor. Yet later he took the field against Cornwallis.

In 1782 he was elected Governor of Virginia, then a State of the American Union. Having filled the office twice in succession, he retired to private life only to be returned again to the House of Burgesses.

In 1791 he was chosen Governor of the State a third time, but died before inauguration.

It is not possible to sneer away the honor of this record. Indeed, it would be surpassingly strange should such be the disposition of any American. If the glory attaching to a Signer of the Declaration might not be transcended, it was

left to a son to sustain and even add to it. Let us see.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

Benjamin, the Signer, was rich when he entered public service; but as the newly born country was poor, he was lavish of his own means, and died in comparative poverty. The second son, William Henry, was under age when his father was laid away.

Though he had the guardianship of Robert Morris, the financier, his affairs were so badly off that he determined to find a livelihood in the practice of medicine, and for that purpose was in Hampden Sidney College when a great Indian war broke out in the West. He laid his books aside to join St. Clair's army. Robert Morris opposed the scheme, but President Washington favored it, and commissioned him ensign in the first regiment of regular artillery, then in garrison at Fort Washington, in the vicinity of Cincinnati. This, let it be remembered, was when he was nineteen years of age.

He won his first distinction immediately. Hamer had been defeated by the Indians. A like misfortune befell St. Clair. The consternation was universal. He performed a perilous duty in the dead of winter with such *eclat* that his veteran chief St. Clair caused him to be promoted full lieutenant. In 1793 he joined *Mad Anthony* Wayne, and was installed aide-de-camp. In

Wayne's official report of his victory he made mention "of his gallant aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Harrison," who was shortly promoted captain, and placed in command of Fort Washington, with discretionary authority.

In 1797 Wayne died. Captain Harrison resigned from the army, and was appointed Secretary of the Northwestern Territory, and *ex-officio* Lieutenant-Governor.

So satisfactory to the people was the young man's administration that, in 1798, the Territory having become entitled to a seat in Congress, he was chosen delegate.

In the first session succeeding, the Northwestern Territory was divided; a separate Territory, now the State of Ohio, was carved out of it, the residue becoming the *Territory of Indiana*, of which Harrison was appointed Governor.

The vastness of the region which thus fell under his sway was but little comprehended. It embraced Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, and all the vaguely bounded *Louisiana*, then of recent purchase. Few empires have equalled it in extent. Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin as at that time constituted had three important white settlements: Clark's Grant at the falls of the Ohio; Vincennes on the Wabash; a third on the Mississippi. The country, forest and prairie, was Indian. The business of the young Governor was to wrest it from savagery; and for that

purpose he was clothed with power more nearly imperial than any ever exercised by one man in the Republic. He was authorized to adopt and publish such laws, civil and criminal, as were best adapted to the condition of the Territory; he could arbitrarily create townships and counties, and appoint civil officers, and militia officers under the grade of general. Most extraordinary of all, however, to him belonged the confirmation of an important class of land grants. In this regard his authority was absolute. Other approval or countersign was not required. The application was to him originally; his signature was the perfect evidence of title. When one thinks of the temptations to which he was subjected, and of the fortune he might have amassed, the fact that he issued from the trial poor, and without a taint upon his honor, must be regarded as creditable to him in the highest degree. His reputation may be rested upon this circumstance quite as safely as upon his military record.

As Governor of Indiana Harrison was *ex-officio* Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to which was shortly added the commissionership for treating with the Indians. These duties brought him into connection with the tribes, and ultimately called him to the field against them.

The sketch, necessarily hurried and brief, presents William Henry Harrison as a civilian; the reader is now invited to study him as a soldier.

He must be brought to mind a young man, tall, slender, handsome, of graceful carriage, military in manner, with large black eyes and an intellectual face. In 1798, when he was ruler of the Territory of Indiana, he was but twenty-five years of age, and of extremely youthful appearance.

From Vincennes, his seat of government, he held communication with the authorities of Washington, and strove to keep the great Indian tribes in check, basing his policy in dealing with them upon a foundation of justice. He could probably have kept peace with them but for the intrigues of the British in Canada, and the ambition of the two brothers, *Tecumseh*, the Crouching Panther, and *Elkswatawa*, the Loud Voice or Prophet. In 1806 these children of the forest dreamed of a universal confederation of all the tribes for the redemption of the Western world from the usurpations of the pale-faces, and to that end set a great conspiracy on foot. They had promises of support from the Father beyond the Great Lake. Eventually Tecumseh challenged the young governor at Vincennes to the conflict. There were at that time scalps of white women and children flying on a string at his wigwam door. The defiance was accepted. Harrison took the field in person.

On the morning of November 7, 1811, he fought and won the battle of Tippecanoe.

The victory, as respects consequence, was

nullified by the war with England, known as the War of 1812.

The first engagement was disastrous to the American arms. The surrender of Fort Detroit by General Hull, after a fight which remains incomprehensible to this day, gave the enemy a base of operations on the soil of the United States. It had the effect, however, of arousing the martial spirit of the entire Northwest. The thoughts of all the men in that region turned to Harrison as their saviour. The jealousy of the then Secretary of War was evaded by his appointment as *Major-General of the Militia of Kentucky*. On the 1st of September, 1812, the President formally commissioned him Brigadier-General, with instructions to take command of all the forces in the Territories of Indiana and Illinois. His authority was remarkable—"Exercise your own discretion, and act in all cases according to your own judgment." He was already in the field when the instruction was received. Afterwards everywhere that he met the enemy in person he was successful.

He repulsed the British and Indians at Fort Meigs. To a demand for surrender, he replied, "Tell General Proctor that if he shall take the fort it will be under circumstances that will do him more honor than a thousand surrenders."

In an open field fight on the banks of the Thames he drove the British from their chosen

position. Tecumseh fell there fighting like a hero. His confederacy fell with him.

The reputation of Harrison spread throughout the nation, and, driven to resignation by the jealousy of Armstrong, Secretary of War, he left the army with the popular entitlement of FATHER OF THE NORTHWEST.

From the alarms of war the good man sought peace in the bosom of his family. But again the people demanded service of him.

In 1824 he was elected Senator of the United States from Ohio. Then, after a short term as Minister to the Republic of Colombia, he retired to his home at North Bend on the Ohio river. The governor, the general, the senator, resolved himself into the farmer, and, old Roman-like, was content to follow the plough. Still the people claimed him.

On the 4th of December, 1839, a National Whig Convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, nominated him unanimously their candidate for the Presidency. The race was one of the most memorable in our political annals. Eighteen hundred and forty became a year of mark for events public and private. Never was there a rising of the people so spontaneous and effective. The whole land teemed with processions and resounded with songs. William Henry Harrison was elected, and as President of the United States administered the government precisely one month,

when he died, leaving a clean record of the most varied service extending through a period of fifty years. The day will come when the humble tomb, sheltering the bones of the hero on the knoll above the Ohio, will be changed to a monument significant of the gratitude of the millions at home in the Northwest, with the redemption of which he had so much to do as Citizen and Soldier.

The message he delivered at his inauguration on the 4th of March, 1841, was a plain document of the style of Washington. Some of the sentiments advanced therein have a peculiar pertinency to politics of to-day. The following extracts will no doubt be understood and appreciated:

But the greatest danger to our institutions appears to me to be, not so much in an usurpation by the Government collectively of power not granted by the people, as in the accumulation in one of the departments of powers which were assigned to others. . . .

I proceed to state in as summary a manner as I can my opinion of the sources of the evils which have been so extensively complained of, and the correctives which may be applied. Some of the former are unquestionably to be found in the defects of the constitution. Others in my judgment are attributable to a misconstruction of some of its provisions. Of the former is the ineligibility of the same individual to a second term of the presidency. The sagacious mind of Mr. Jefferson early saw and lamented this error. . . .

It may be observed, however, as a general truth, that no Republic can commit a greater error than to adopt or continue any feature in its system of government which

may be calculated to create or increase the love of power in the bosoms of those to whom necessity obliges them to commit the management of their affairs; and surely nothing is more likely to produce that effect than the long continuance in the same hands of an office of high trust. Nothing can be more corrupting, nothing more dangerous to all those noble sentiments and principles which form the character of a devoted Republican patriot. When this insidious passion once takes possession of the human mind like the love of gold it becomes insatiable. It is the never-dying worm in his bosom, which grows with his growth and strengthens with the declining years of its victim. If this be true it is the part of wisdom for a Republic to limit the service of that officer at least to whom she has entrusted the management of her foreign relations, the execution of her laws, and the command of her armies and navies to a period so short as to prevent his forgetting that he is the accountable agent, not the principal; the servant, not the master, of the people. Until an amendment to the Constitution can be effected, public opinion, if firm in its demands, may secure the desired object. I cheerfully second it by renewing the pledge heretofore given that under no circumstances will I consent to serve a second term.

I consider the veto power, therefore, given by the Constitution to the executive of the United States, solely as a *conservative power* to be used only—

- 1st. To protect the Constitution from violation.
- 2d. The people from the effects of hasty legislation, where their will has been probably disregarded or not well understood, and
- 3d. To prevent the effects of combinations, violative of the rights of minorities.

JOHN SCOTT HARRISON.

The third son of President William H. Harrison was christened John Scott. His life was

comparatively uneventful. Still it should not be passed as unworthy separate notice.

His youth was spent upon the farm at North Bend. The repeated and long-continued absences of his father in and about official duties demanded a confidential agent to superintend home affairs. So it resulted that the second of the sons became a farmer; and from all that can be gleaned of him this was strictly in consonance with his tastes. He was of a quiet, meditative turn. The bustle and jostling of great crowds were distasteful to him. He loved best to sit with his family by the door of summer evenings. The education of the boys absorbed every thought aside from his farm. He lived chiefly for them. As, in his later years, the goodly acres melted away, he sacrificed pride and personal comforts, everything, indeed, but honor, in the settled determination to see them equipped for their several races.

It must not be supposed that he was naturally an inferior or that he was without capacity. On the contrary, he was a fair writer and a speaker of power.

In his youth and middle age the parties representing the chief political divisions of the country were Democratic and Federal. In 1840 they were Whig and Democrat. Following Jefferson and Jackson, John Scott Harrison became a Democrat, and remained of that party.

Recognizing his merit and capacity, his political friends succeeded in drawing him from retirement long enough to represent his district twice in Congress; and it is said that he could have been returned to the seat indefinitely. But the cares and harassments of business and his innate preference for home smothered the last spark of ambition in his breast.

Contemporary members of Congress remember him as active in the discharge of official duties. Constant at committee meetings, they say he was ready in speech and always commanded a hearing on the floor.

In August, 1861, the Democratic State Convention held at Columbus nominated John Scott Harrison for lieutenant-governor, with Hugh J. Jewett for first place on the ticket. Dr. Johnson, then secretary of the central committee of the party, formally notified him of his nomination. In a letter described as smoothly written in a flowing hand, and without an erasure or omission, Mr. Harrison declined the honor. The year 1861 is forever sadly memorable as that of the outbreak of the great rebellion. It may be of interest to the reader to know the position occupied by the father of the present candidate for the Presidency in that day of uncertainty and general political rupture. The following is the gentleman's letter of declination:

POINT FARM, O., Aug. 13, 1861.

WM. A. JOHNSON, Esq.:

Dear Sir: The extreme illness of a member of my family has for several weeks so entirely engrossed my attention as to leave me but little time for other engagements, and will account for this tardy acknowledgment of your favor of 8th instant.

I had noticed in the city papers the proceedings of the Democratic Union Convention lately assembled at Columbus, and was not a little surprised to find that my name had been used in connection with the lieutenant-governorship of the State. I deeply regretted that I had not been consulted in the matter, and now desire to say that I respectfully decline the nomination.

I have no inclination to be a candidate for any office. If I ever cherished ambition for such distinction I have been cured of it, and feel entirely reconciled to the quiet and retirement of private life. But it is perhaps due to myself to say that if this were not the case, and I felt entirely free to enter again the field of political conflict, I could not consent to be a party candidate for office in the present condition of the country. Party spirit, in my opinion, has done more than anything else to bring about the late calamities which now so seriously afflict us, and the poison which has induced this national paralysis would not prove an efficient remedy in the restoration of the patient. The time has come when we should forget party, throw off its trammels and obligations and stand up for the country, its union, Constitution and laws.

I was not, as you know, a supporter of Mr. Lincoln for the presidency, neither do I approve of all the acts of his administration. But it seems to me that this is not the proper time to arraign the administration for these errors of policy, and that it is neither the part of wisdom nor patriotism to assail the government when the enemy is thundering at the gates of the capital. Let us first settle the great question of country or no country, government or no government, Union or disunion; and having accomplished this great work of duty and patriotism, we will have ample time to inquire into the alleged delin-

quencies of our rulers, and if we find them wanting in the Jeffersonian requirements for office, let them be condemned by a verdict of the people.

I certainly owe the Republicans, as a party, no debt of political obligation, and yet I do not hesitate to say that the administration has my warmest sympathy in its effort to put down this rebellion, and I am in favor of doing this effectually and permanently—in peace if we can, in war if we must. A distinguished member of Congress is reported to have said, in his place in the House of Representatives during last session, that he was for peace—peace before the Union. I, too, am for peace, but I am for the Union before peace, for I know without union we can have no peace.

In repeating my determination to decline the nomination, which, as the organ of the convention, you so kindly tendered me, I beg to assure you of my proper appreciation of this mark of respect and confidence on the part of the convention.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

J. SCOTT HARRISON.

He died in the spring of 1878, loved by his neighbors and respected, despite his financial misfortunes, by all who knew him. Benjamin Harrison, of whom we are writing, was his second son, Irwin being the first.

CHAPTER II.

CHILD, BOY AND STUDENT.

IN 1787 the Continental Congress, sitting in New York, adopted "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio." This was speedily followed by sales of public lands, notably one of five millions of acres, bordering the Ohio river from the Muskingum to the Scioto, to citizens of New England organized as "The Ohio Company," and another of two millions of acres in the region between the Great and Little Miami rivers, including the site of Cincinnati.

The purchaser of the latter tract was John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, concerning whom there are some particulars of interest.

He was a son of Rev. Timothy Symmes, of Scituate, Mass., a graduate of Howard College. At one time he was a delegate to the Provincial Congress and was active in framing the constitution of his State in 1776. A year later he became justice of the Supreme Court. Still retaining his position as such justice, in 1784 and 1785 he was a delegate to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. Following that he was appointed

judge of the Northwestern Territory and moved to Ohio. He had for companions in his emigration Jonathan Dayton, Elias Boudinot, Dr. Clarkson and others of New Jersey.

The tract constituting what is known as "Symmes' Purchase" comprised the present cities of Cincinnati and Dayton. It embraced Hamilton, Butler, Preble and Montgomery counties, and possibly Warren. Along the Ohio river it extended from the Little Miami, about twenty miles above Cincinnati, to the Big Miami, about the same distance below that city. All the titles for fractions of the tract proceeded from him.

Judge Symmes established his residence at North Bend, and there laid out a city, intending to make it the great commercial emporium of the West. Unfortunately for his idea, Cincinnati became a military post, the protection of which was anxiously sought by settlers. Symmes' city sank into comparative insignificance. Two of the three hewn log-houses which the Judge erected as the nucleus of his emporium were destroyed by fire. The incendiary is reported to have been a political enemy.

The ruins of the stone chimneys of the cabins are yet discernible. To-day North Bend is chiefly known as having been the residence of President William Henry Harrison.

Judge Symmes had for his first wife Anna Tuthill, of Southold, Long Island. From the mar-

riage there were two daughters, Maria and Anna, of whom the former wedded Peyton Short, of Kentucky, and the latter William Henry Harrison. The wooing and winning of the younger sister is not without romantic coloring.

When Fort Washington was established at Cincinnati Harrison was stationed there. Duty called the gallant captain to North Bend, and he became a guest at the Symmes residence. It was not long until he succumbed to the black eyes of Miss Anna. She was at the time twenty years of age, small, graceful, intelligent and by general agreement beautiful. He was twenty-two years of age, with a reputation well established as a gallant soldier. The two were mutually pleased with each other, and an engagement followed, which could hardly fail to be satisfactory to the father. The Judge, in fact, consented to the marriage; but, hearing some slanderous reports of the captain, he afterwards withdrew his consent. The lovers were in nowise daunted. They resolved to proceed with their engagement. November 29, 1795, the day appointed for the wedding, arrived. Judge Symmes, thinking the affair off or declining to be present, rode to Cincinnati, leaving the coast clear.

In the presence of the young lady's stepmother and many guests the ceremony was performed by Dr. Stephen Wood, a justice of the peace.

Undoubtedly the father of the bride was a person of great importance at that time. He was a high dignitary of the United States government and proprietor of a tract of land ducal in proportions. The lady was beautiful, young, charming, of Eastern education and manners. The bridegroom on his side had fought his way to a captaincy, which was a much more influential argument in that day than this, especially in social circles. With these points in mind, it would not be strange if a reader, giving rein to his fancy, should picture the wedding as of exceeding splendor of circumstance. It was the very reverse. To arrive at the facts the time and the conditions of the people of the region must be considered. The West was in its densest wildness. There were no luxuries. To be comfortable was to be rich. There was no aristocracy. Store goods were scarce and at prices out of reach. Weeks of travel were required to get to and from the mills. For summer wear the settlers depended in great part upon the fibre of thistle, a certain species of which, growing spontaneously in the woods, fell down and rotted in the winter, and was gathered in the spring and cleared and woven by the women. Indeed, the probabilities are that the company assembled to witness the marriage of Captain Harrison and Miss Anna Symmes would astonish polite circles of to-day. They arrived on horseback, each man carrying a rifle, a powder-horn and a pouch lined

with patching and bullets. Travelling by narrow paths cut through thickets of blackberry and alder bushes and undergrowth of every variety, every step taken might be into an ambush of Indians. They moved in the mood and ready for instant combat. A wife, coming with her husband, rode behind him. When they dismounted at the door, as it was winter, ten to one he wore buckskin for coat and breeches, and a coonskin cap, while she was gay with plaided linsey-woolsey of her own weaving, cutting and sewing. Her head was protected from the wind by a cotton handkerchief. Coarse shoes supplied the place of slippers. The wedding cake was of New England doughnuts. On the sideboard there were jugs of cider, very hard at that, and whiskey none the worse of its home brewing, and they were there to be drank. The dancing, with which the fete was most likely rounded off in the evening, was to a fiddle in the hand of a colored artist who knew the plantation jigs as a mocking bird knows his whistle. The pigeon-wing with which the best dancer celebrated the "balance all" was cut with feet yellow with moccasins. Such was in probability the general ensemble of the wedding.

The bride may have had an outfit of better material. So recently from the East, she may have had a veil, a silk frock and French slippers. The bridegroom, of course, wore his captain's

uniform, glittering with bullet-buttons of burnished brass, and high boots becoming an aide in favor with his chief, the redoubtable Anthony Wayne, whom the Indians were accustomed to describe as "the warrior who never slept." Taken altogether, the wedding celebrated at Judge Symmes' house that November day, 1795, cannot be cited in proof of a charge of aristocratic pretension on the part of the high contracting parties.

Some time afterwards Judge Symmes met his son-in-law. The occasion was a dinner-party given by General Wilkinson to General Wayne.

"Well, sir," the judge said, in bad humor, "I understand you have married Anna."

"Yes, sir," Harrison answered.

"How do you expect to support her?"

"By my sword and my own right arm," was the reply.

The judge was pleased, became reconciled, and in true romantic form happily concluded the affair by giving the couple his blessing.

The young husband carried his wife to Cincinnati without delay, and they remained there in quarters until the reconciliation with the father took place; after which, it is reasonable to suppose, they were frequent visitors at North Bend.

The demands for the captain's professional services were frequent and pressing. He had not long to enjoy his new situation and its delights, but betook himself speedily to the wars.

Previous to his departure, however, he built a house to shelter his fair partner. Part of it is yet standing in close proximity to the site of Fort Washington. The interior is of black walnut. Building material must have been scarce when the structure was begun, as the nails were of iron wrought doubtless on the forge of the post blacksmiths. There John Scott Harrison, the third son of the Father of the Northwest, was born.

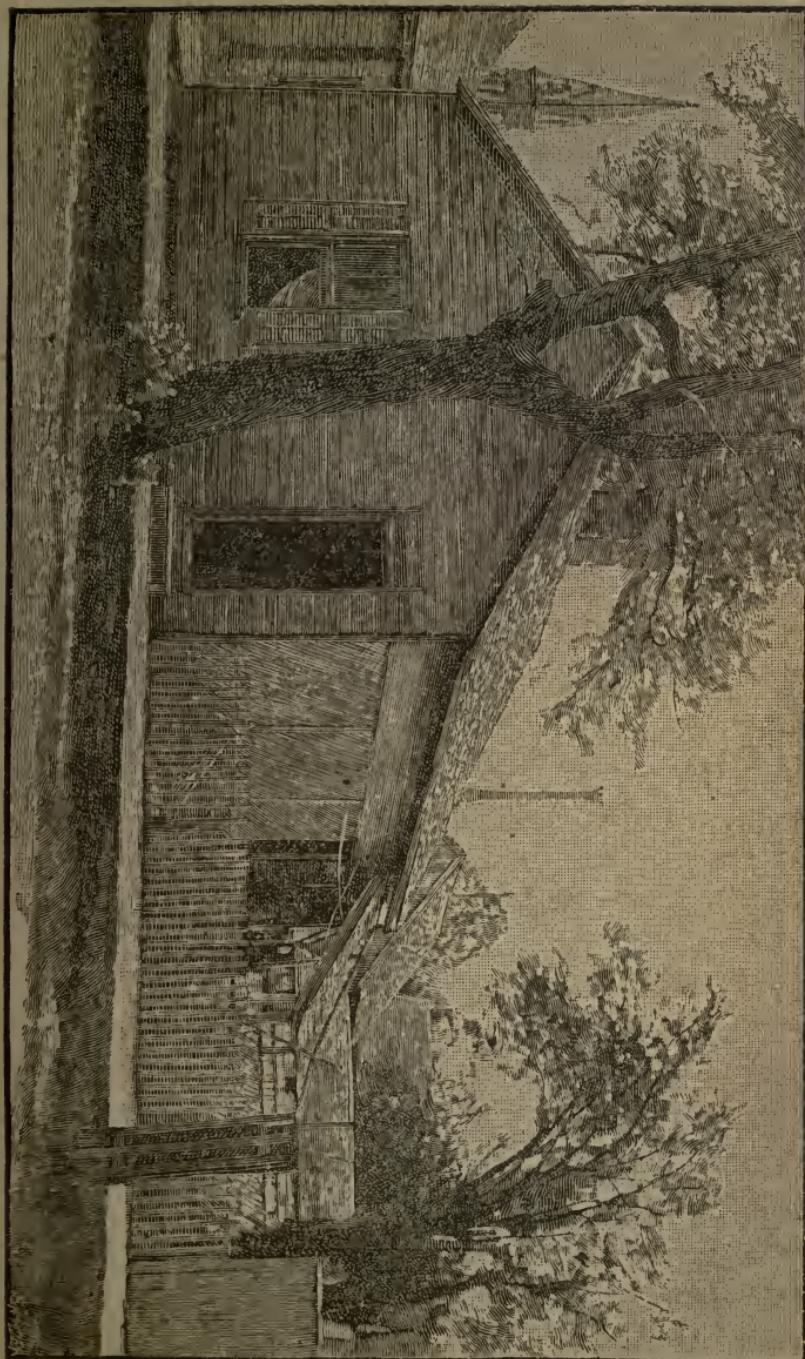
Eventually, however, General William Henry Harrison took residence at North Bend. The old homestead, the same that in later years became an object of visitation by armies of pilgrims, is said to have been built by him in 1814 or thereabouts. Whatever the date may be, it is certain that North Bend was the scene of the passage of a great part of Mrs. Harrison's life —a good woman, admired in her youth and lovely and beloved to her latest day. There a family was reared unto her, and of that family we will now speak.

In time the home circle came to consist of William Symmes, Benjamin and John Scott Harrison; Anna, who married Colonel Taylor; Betsey, who married Mr. Short; Maria, who married Mr. Thornton; Lucy, who married Mr. Estey, and Mary and Carter, nine in all.

We have seen the occupations which engaged the attention of the father through many years.

They were mixed, civil and military, all heavy with responsibility and demanding exclusive attention. If they were honorable, they were also vexatious, and of a nature requiring absence from home, much of the time in the saddle on distant expeditions. No doubt he would have been more happy could he have fixed his headquarters at North Bend, but we hear of him at Vincennes and here and there, now on the shores of the lakes, but most frequently in a tent pitched in the woods, the centre of constant coming and going of subordinate officials. Subjects of the gravest character demanded his best thought; pertinent sometimes to affairs of government, the founding of settlements, plans of campaign, and the settlement of disputes brought to him on final appeal. To him fell the duty of the original subdivision of Indiana into townships and counties and the protection of the adventurous settlers from the ever-watchful and merciless Indian.

It is not saying too much that the care of the growing family devolved almost entirely, throughout their infancy, upon the mother. And later she was required to attend to their education, the means for which were, in that day, sadly wanting. Yet the highest evidence of her efficiency as a helpmeet is to be found in the fact that the children all became respectable men and women and to the latest day held her in the highest veneration.



FIRST HOME OF HARRISON.

It is the general opinion that William Henry Harrison was rich, but the opinion is not founded in fact. With great care for his personal honor he seems, throughout his life, to have scrupulously avoided speculation. The salaries he received were not commensurable with the dignities he came to. The demands upon him from his family and his associations generally made it impossible for him to accumulate money. At the time of his election to the Presidency he was poor; his entire property consisted of the farm at North Bend. When out of office he was occupied exclusively as a farmer, and must be thought of, not as a gentleman addicted to broadcloth clothes of the latest style, nor as a martial figure going about uniformed and sworded and in a cocked hat. In that respect his habits were unlike Washington's. The plantation at North Bend had not in any degree the baronial likeness of the plantation at Mount Vernon on the banks of the Potomac. The western proprietor had not a retinue of slaves subject to his call. He never travelled to and from the city in state, a liveried rider upon the near horse and a footman perched upon the carriage of state. He was a farmer in fact who took part in his own plowing, planting and reaping; altogether the most unaristocratic of men, his children were reared accordingly.

The third son was John Scott Harrison, in whom the greater interest now centres because

he was the father of Benjamin Harrison, our immediate subject of biography. John Scott Harrison, upon coming of age, settled down a farmer like his father, by whom he had set apart to him a portion of the North Bend property. His house, as has been observed, was a plain structure, similar to those dotting the imperfect farms of the day. The farm itself had to be created, and was situated just five miles below North Bend on the Ohio river at its intersection with the Big Miami. Its western boundary was the Indiana and Ohio line. He was twice married. He had by his first wife three children, two daughters, Betsey and Sarah, who are still living, the former as the widow of Dr. Eaton, now resident on a part of the old homestead at North Bend, the latter Mrs. Devin, also of Ohio. His second wife was a Miss Elizabeth Irwin, daughter of Archibald Irwin, of Mercersburg, Franklin county, Pennsylvania. By her he had Archibald Irwin; Benjamin; Jennie, who married Mr. Morris; Carter Bassett, who is still living, and has the distinction of having been during the late war a Captain in the Fifty-first Ohio (Stanley Matthews') regiment. He also served a good part of the time on the division staff of Gen. Vancleave. At present he resides in Murfreesboro, Tenn., having married in the South. Besides those named, John Scott Harrison had two other children: John Scott, living in Kansas City, Mo., and Anna, at present of Indianapolis, married to Mr. Morris.

The reader may arrive at the manner of bringing up this family had by observing the particulars of the childhood and youth of Benjamin Harrison, the second of the sons.

Continuing the sketch of John Scott Harrison, it may be remarked that he lived and died upon his farm, having been an agriculturalist all his life. In his earlier days he took care of his own little plantation and aided his father in the general management of the homestead. He varied the occupation by boating to New Orleans, whither he went almost every year with a cargo of produce of his own raising. Having become involved in debt, largely through ill-advised endorsements, he left no property. Years prior to his death his farm passed from him into the ownership of the heirs of Judge Short, who has been mentioned as the husband of Betsey Harrison. Through their kindness, and out of great respect, he was permitted to continue in its occupancy. He left no estate whatever.

It will perhaps please the reader to be assured that from this point forward he will be given nothing that is not directly concerned with the gentleman to whom the volume is in title and fact devoted.

Benjamin Harrison, the second son of John Scott Harrison, was born at North Bend in his grandfather's house on the 20th day of August, 1833—nearly fifty-five years ago.

There is nothing more surprising in the lives of Americans than the similarity of their childhood and youth. Their sports are the same; they go through the same trains of petty adventure; at length a period arrives at which they are sent to school; there a new-comer very nearly takes up a book left behind by a predecessor, is subjected to the same recitation, and whirled with astonishing rapidity along a course of study which, after all, is little more than a deeply worn rut. This may perhaps be a necessity; it certainly is monotonous. There are even teachers of experience and excellent judgment who have been heard to express a wish that they might live to see the results of experiments in education out of the common. There is no hack so worn and weary as a master or mistress of a public school, unless it be a college professor. That a lad ever rises above the dead level is attributable purely to a superiority of intellect. In the light of this remark and its context, together with his admitted success in life, it is worth while to make a study of the youth and school-days of the Republican candidate for the Presidency.

Extending southward from the old Harrison homestead at North Bend there is a tongue of land, quite five miles in length; its lower extremity touches the Indiana boundary line; the north side is swept by the Miami river; upon the south side the Ohio rolls its placid stream.

On this promontory, or backbone, as some might be pleased to call it, is what was the farm of John Scott Harrison. It answered to cultivation generously; corn grew there in abundance. The wheat was good. It furnished the family all the staples of life. Seldom, if ever, had they to go out to market. From it the cellar was well supplied. The cattle and horses that ranged it were always fat and sleek. The proprietor was, in fact, a good farmer. He might have been nothing else out of the ordinary, but that he was in fair degree. He gave himself to the occupation patiently and successfully, at least so far as the blessing of plenty to eat and wear is concerned. The poverty that overtook him in his later days was a consequence of his generosity and a judgment too easily cheated by people who wormed their way into his confidence. He put on no style. If his disposition had tended that way, he had not the means to indulge it. One thing he was determined upon: whatever else happened, he would educate his children. His residence fronted the Ohio river: between the river and the door was a small, plain, old-fashioned log-school-house. On account of the distance to any other schools, it was impossible that his boys could attend them. Very early in the life of Benjamin he was in the habit of employing private teachers. Their salaries were light, as they were called upon only to impart the simplest elementary instruction. His

nephews very often were accommodated in his house and placed under instruction together with his own children. Boys of his nearest neighbors were also attendants there. The teachers were sometimes men, sometimes women; and they were not employed all the year round, but generally in the winter.

The cabin was, as is usual with such buildings, of the very plainest. The floor was of puncheon, the windows few and small. In one end was a great fire-place, habitually filled with logs in the morning to burn all day. The benches were slabs raised above the floor by sticks fitted in through auger holes. They were without backs, and the little fellows, through the hours of session, dropped their legs without touching the floor with their feet. Altogether it was weary employment for them. But, as their studies were spelling, reading and writing, they were not put to much mental effort. At recess they ran wild, and made up for lost time at play. In that humble structure Benjamin began his education.

In seasons when the crops were being planted and harvested he was, as a farmer's boy, given to employment suitable to his years. He fed the cattle; he did the milking, though he has since confessed that at this latter labor he was never a success. There his isolation from the world was complete. Visitors from the city came in flocks, always stopping at the old mansion above. Sel-

whom, if ever, did they extend their journey to the farm on the peninsula. His own visitations to his grandmother's were frequent, for he was always a favorite with the old lady. She made much of him, and many times, upon his setting out homeward on the horse or the wagon, she came to the gate and in giving him a parting kiss slipped a piece of money in his hand, of which he was duly proud. In later years, when he came to understand that she herself was not over-blessed with riches, he appreciated the mark of affection all the more. At such times he had opportunities to see strangers. In most instances they were objects of wonder to him.

Of Sundays, with his father and mother and all the family, he attended church at North Bend. As it had been a custom of the first General Harrison when at home to make tender of hospitality to the congregation, after his death the custom was perpetuated by the widow. The board at which the guests found themselves upon such occasions was broad and profusely covered. Not seldom there were plates for fifty or more. If there were not three kinds of meat for the company, the aged hostess was unhappy. It is to be remarked, however, that everything constituting the *menu* was produced on the farm.

It should not be supposed that the attendance at school and work upon the farm were unmixed with pastime. The rivers flowing close by were

well stocked in that day with fish. There were squirrels in the woods; in their season ducks were plenteous; and in the pursuit of such game young Harrison became an expert shot, particularly with the rifle. Very frequently he assisted the negro who served the household in the capacity of cook, carried wood and water for him, and helped him wash the dishes, that he might the better secure his company in a bout at fishing or hunting.

By-and-by the little old cabin described as a school-house gave out, and study was transferred to a room in the father's house. Amongst the teachers at whose feet he sought instruction he remembers one Thomas Flynn, who initiated him into the mysteries of A, B, C. He cannot recall a thrashing, a circumstance somewhat singular, as in that day the rod was deemed necessary to successful education. Probably he might have met other treatment, if he had attended a public school. In learning to read, write and cipher his school periods were occupied down to 1847. He then began Latin and a course preparatory to an academy. Shortly afterwards, with his elder brother, Irwin, he was sent to a school back a few miles from Cincinnati, on what was called College Hill.

The institution had recently taken on a more pretentious character. A new building had been put up; and whereas it had flourished under the

name of Carey's Academy, it now introduced itself to knowledge-seekers in the West as Farmer's College. The proprietor and principal was Freeman Carey, brother of Mr. Samuel Carey, the temperance lecturer. The instructors, some of them, were of great reputation—among them Dr. Robert H. Bishop, who had at one time been President of Miami University and before that a professor in Transylvania College, Kentucky. He was a highly educated, learned and venerable Scotsman.

Young Harrison was a student at Farmer's College two years. He applied himself to Latin, Greek, mathematics, mental philosophy, and the usual academical course in its entirety. He lived plainly, rooming in one of the dormitories of the building. While closely applying himself to study, always standing fair in his classes, respected by the instructors and popular with his associates, prompt at recitation and obedient to rules, nevertheless he found time for amusement and sport, such as snow-balling, town ball, bullpen, shinny and baste, all more familiar to lads in that day than this. There was a hill in the vicinity to which he was faithful in sledding time. He was of slight physique, slender and not tall, even girlish in appearance, but made up the deficiencies, if such they may be called, by spirit, wit, and ready knowledge of character, which enabled him to take his own part, and hold rank in the estimation of his playmates.

At the end of the two years at Farmer's College he was transferred to Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, for which he was admirably prepared.

It is the custom with those who are in the habit of tracing the distinction a man acquires in after life to dwell upon what he may have read in his youth. Some have carried their opinions in that matter so far as to affirm that books favorite in the beginning give bent to the tastes and even decide the calling that may be chosen. They fancy that poets in that way discover themselves. Lawyers, divines, politicians, and scientists are referable to the same influences. Hence, it has been for a long time the fashion of biographers to furnish lists of the books which were delightful to the boy.

Allowing the inquiry, we find in his very early years young Harrison was admitted to a limited library. His father does not appear to have been a great reader himself. Severely occupied by attention to his farm, John Scott Harrison was perhaps more careless and indifferent in this respect than he imagined. Amongst the books, however, at call of the children, there was notably an edition of Scott's novels. The son Benjamin can scarcely remember the time that he was not enthralled by Waverley, the Scottish tales, and the eastern romances. He pored over them diligently. Ivanhoe and the Talisman were sources

of infinite fascination to him. In them his imagination found the greatest satisfaction. And unconsciously he laid away a store of English and Scotch history from Kenilworth and other tales of that class infinitely serviceable in his succeeding years. He has since drank deeply from Dickens, Thackeray and all the modern classicists, but Walter Scott still holds dominion over his tastes. He speaks enthusiastically of him yet, and says he went through his volumes from beginning to end, and over and over again.

In his boyish days an uncle presented him with a *Vicar of Wakefield*, and about the same time, upon the recommendation of his mother, he devoured *Pilgrim's Progress*.

In the society library at Farmer's College he found the works of Washington Irving, and they too became his admiration and delight. Occasionally he read Cooper's stories. In the purely historical line, Hume and Gibbon received the greatest attention from him. So that when, at the end of two years in Farmer's College, he was transferred to Miami University, he was so well advanced in study and general information as to at once enter a Junior in the latter institution.

Miami University had been provided for by the General Government by reservation in the grant of land to John Cleves Symmes and his associates. It was consequently one of the earliest, and for a long time decidedly the leading

institution west of the Alleghenies. When young Harrison was received in its walls it had derived not a little fame from presidents such as Dr. McMasters and Dr. Bishop. In the professorial roll are the names of Dr. McGuffy and Dr. John W. Scott, with the latter of whom we shall presently acquaint ourselves as the father of Mrs. Harrison. The executive of the institution when the subject of our biography became one of its students was the Rev. W. C. Anderson, D. D., under whose administration its affairs were in an unusually flourishing condition. Aside from the large patronage received from the Northwest, it found favor in the South, there being many youths on its roster from the slave or Southern States. Miami University was not strictly denominational; nevertheless it had been presided over almost from the beginning by men connected with the Presbyterian Church—sons of Presbyterians of the Old and New School Churches, as they were called, and among them Covenanters or United Presbyterians. In deference to their ideas, the psalms in the morning exercises were always sung out of Rouse's collection.

Young Harrison attached himself immediately upon arrival to the Miami Union Literary Society, and became foremost in the debates which, as usual with such societies, formed part of the ordinary exercises. In that line he early distinguished himself, and conscious of his strength

he preferred speaking to composition. To the latter he indeed failed to give the attention it deserved.

To this day he prefers impromptu oratorical effort to writing, which is still distasteful drudgery to him. A little further on the reader will have opportunity to decide for himself how well founded the preference may be.

Returning a moment to his home-life on the farm, it is pleasant to remark that his mother was a most devout Christian woman of remarkable sweetness of temper, and her spirit pervaded the house. The dining-room, which was the common sitting-room, was large and commodious, with the usual wide open fireplace. In evenings, especially of the winter, the family assembled in it around a central-table. The flames in the fireplace burned brightly, dispensing light in aid of the tallow-dips on the table, beside which were the old-fashioned brazen snuffers ready in the polished tray for instant use. The dips mentioned were not the store article but home-made. In fact young Harrison helped make them, and became an expert in the business.

In front of the fire-place the mother took seat with her knitting; and while listening to the conversation or the reading that went on amongst the younger folks, reeled off her needles the socks with which the boys could encounter the snows without. In their most animated moments

those around were always regardful of her presence; respect for her tempered their voices and forbade passion in dispute. She was a Presbyterian, and one of Benjamin's earliest recollections, that to which at this late day he refers with profoundest reverence of feeling, is the habit she persisted in to her death of rising when the hour of retirement came, folding up her work, whatever it might be, saying "Good-night" and going aside for prayer. The practice was a mystery to him then, as was the prayer she silently made. He did not understand what it meant; and for that reason possibly the impression it made upon him has been more lasting. It certainly was not without influence. For we find that while he was a student in the University he became himself a member of the Presbyterian Church and is now a Presbyterian. He is also a man of prayer.

Young Harrison, in this interval of college toil, must not be thought of as coldly indifferent to attractions outside study. The mind that admits fondness of Walter Scott must also have an element of romance more or less defiant of control. Its possessor, if a student, will give time to dreams wholly irrelevant to the book which is the necessity of the next recitation. There are the visions of the old man, and the visions of the youth; the former have hold upon the past, the latter are all of the future, and that is the difference between them. The surest sign of the approach of man-

hood is the intervention, constantly and oddly, of the question, what am I to be? asked of the pursuit in which the dreamer is to look for bread and the glory in waiting for him. And if he be bright, brave and gentle withal, ten to one it will be found that the inspiration of the question is a face fairer in his thought than any other face.

It happened that in the town overlooked by Miami University there was an academy for young ladies of which Dr. John W. Scott was manager and president. The fair students were a sparkling feature of the society of the village, and young Harrison was not so ascetically devoted to the Union Literary and making good the favoritism shown him as an orator on occasions as to be blind to the sex. Far from that, he was notoriously diligent in seeking partners for concerts, lectures, picnics and parties.

It also happened that President Scott had a daughter, girlish, intelligent, witty, attractive, in whom the young man quickly discovered all the qualities that entered into the composition of his ideal of a perfect woman. Suddenly he gave up attentions to the gentle patrons of the academy in general, and became more a slave to his books than ever. For a season there was much wonder over the change; at length it was explained—he was engaged to marry Miss Caroline W. Scott, the president's daughter. The contract argues great courage and confidence in his future when

it is remembered that he was poor and just out of the junior class, and but eighteen years of age.

It may be well supposed that the engagement referred to, while operating as an incentive to work, had also the effect to lengthen each college day, making him impatient for the end which the collegiate calendar set down for the 24th of June, 1852.

The graduating class that year consisted of sixteen young men, the names of some of whom have since become of national familiarity. To see yet more clearly the competition which young Harrison found in his classes and literary society, the reader may not be displeased if their names are given entire. The following is the list:

John S. Baker, lawyer, Cincinnati, O.

John P. Craighead, lawyer, Little Rock, Ark.

Isaac S. Lane, lawyer, Memphis, Tenn.

Lewis W. Ross, lawyer, Council Bluffs, Ia.*

* The following is from Mr. Lewis W. Ross, now of Council Bluffs, Iowa :

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Forty years ago the writer met the subject of this paper in Farmer's College, a school of considerable merit, located on one of the hills overlooking the city of Cincinnati. Dr. R. H. Bishop, formerly President of Miami University, was Professor of History and Political Economy. He was an extraordinary teacher. He disciplined his students to such an extent as to render it impossible to either forget the man or his instruction. I also met Dr. O. W. Nixon of the *Inter-Ocean*, Murat Halstead of the *Commercial-Gazette*, Joseph M. Gregory, a member of the Memphis Bar, and many others who have attained to positions of honor and trust.

After two years of study at Farmer's College, a large delegation, including young Harrison and the writer, entered Miami University, located at

Milton Sayler, lawyer, Cincinnati, O.
Harmer Denny, minister of the gospel.

Oxford, Ohio. We enrolled in the junior class, with at least half of the sophomore year to make up. This implied that we were required to do two and a half years' work within the space of two years, but it was accomplished, and all graduated—a class of fifteen members, on June 24, 1852.

This class varied in worldly wealth and available brains about as other classes have done. David Swing, of Chicago, took second honors, and Milton Saylor, now of New York city, took the first honors. Harrison, in class standing and merit, ranked above the average. Swing was confessedly the best philologist in the class, and during the last year of the course displayed unusual ability. Saylor was gifted in many ways, but lacked application. He has lived the life of a "typical Democrat," serving two terms in Congress. Harrison, as I remember, was an unpretentious but courageous student. He was respectable in languages and the sciences, and excelled in political economy and history, the former being largely due to the foundations laid under the instruction of Dr. Bishop at Farmer's College. Harrison had a good voice and a pure diction. He talked easily and fluently. His manner was indicative of much earnestness of character. He never seemed to regard life as a joke nor the opportunities for advancement as subjects for sport. During the four years that I was with him, he impressed me with the belief that he was ambitious. As a writer and speaker, he always did his best. By this I mean that he, as a rule, made special preparation, giving as much time as possible to the matter in hand. The subject of his graduating address was "The Poor of England," and his treatment of it showed that he had sounded both the depths and the causes of this poverty. He was a protectionist at the age of nineteen. He is protectionist still. His whole career has been illustrative of his desire to save his countrymen from the poverty which oppresses "The Poor of England."

It is claimed by his enemies that Harrison is cold-hearted, that he cultivates but few friends. This is untrue. When a student he had his likes and dislikes. He was not selfish, yet his love of self made him careful of his time and of his reserve powers. Had he been of the rollicking habit of some of his college acquaintances, he would long since have passed over with them. The sober truth is, that in good sense and manly conduct he was as a student without just reproach. From aught that has come to my notice, in later years, I infer that his entire career has been a living exemplification of the principles which governed his student life.

James A. Hughes, minister of the gospel, Somerville, O.

A. C. Junkin, minister of the gospel, West Greenville, Pa.

S. T. Lowerie, minister of the gospel, Pittsburgh, Pa.

David Morrow, minister of the gospel, Logansport, Ind.

William H. Prestly, minister of the gospel, Chillicothe, O.

David Swing, minister of the gospel, Chicago, Ill.

Joseph Walker, minister of the gospel, Muskingum, O.

J. Knox Boude, M. D., Carthage, Ill.

James H. Childs, calling not known, killed at Antietam.

To have become conspicuous in such a class is of itself a high encomium. Young Harrison took fourth honor, which was certainly well done for a boy of but eighteen.

He was just then. He is just now. He was industrious then. He is industrious now. He was ambitious then. He is ambitious still. This was and is a commendable ambition, worthy to be patterned by the youth of the country. When in college he gained mental discipline and a genuine love for history and political science. When in Judge Storer's office he read, with other texts, Coke upon Littleton, and so laid deep and solid legal foundations. Thus furnished, his success was assured before entering upon the duties of his profession. On all moral questions he has been fearless for the right. At his country's call he answered, proving his devotion and courage. Among lawyers of national reputation he ranks with the best. Among statesmen he is accorded a high place. He is worthy of the cordial support of Republicans everywhere for the exalted position to which he aspires.

Speeches were part of the commencement exercises then, as now; and in gratification of the curiosity to know something of the boy's graduating oration, an extract is submitted.

After a compliment of poetic turn to heroic England, the speaker said :

Turn, now, and take a glance at modern England, the England of poor laws and paupers. How fares it with the descendants of those noble sires? Do they still preserve the lofty mien, the virtuous courage, the healthful abundance of their ancestors? Can it be that the obsequious pauper, the sturdy beggar, is indeed come of so proud a parentage? Have the swelling tides engulfed this manly race to give place to Eastern slaves? By what process of degeneration, by what system of treachery, by what catalogue of wrongs has this sad change been effected? How has the individual been robbed of his energy, the social circle of its virtue and purity? The common answer is by poor laws.

In the vastness of her commercial projects, the expansive generosity of her foreign charity and the extended field of her missionary efforts, the starving destitution of eight millions of her own subjects is too much forgotten and overlooked. Reversing the old maxim, she seems to think that charity begins abroad and draws freely upon the public exchequer to relieve the miseries of the West India slave, while thousands more miserable cry in vain for substantial relief from the filthy lanes of her own metropolis. As the newspaper giver of the present day bestows liberally to endow widows' homes and orphan asylums while his faithful house-dog is starving in his kennel, so the oil and wine which the British Samaritan poured into the wounds and bruises of the West Indian slave were the marrow and blood of his own children. . . .

Perhaps the whole annals of legislative history does not furnish us with a system of laws so fully repudiated

by all sound economy or one which so rudely strikes at the foundation of all social prosperity as the poor laws of Great Britain. Unwise in their conception, unhappy in their consequences, they are the shame and curse of England.

Disregarding the finer and fuller provisions of nature for the relief of the destitute and unfortunate, they substitute instead the compulsory provisions of a legalized benevolence. The charitable offering is snatched from the kind hand of the benevolent giver, cast into the swelling poor fund and distributed by the cold hand of a soulless official alike to the vicious and deserving. The donor is deprived of his meed of praise, the recipient is precluded the exercise of gratitude.

But not only do such provisions fail to relieve the wants of the poor by sapping the life's blood of individual energy and encouraging indolence and consequent vice; they increased the evil they were intended to alleviate and supersede the more efficacious relief of individual charity. The ever present consciousness that, however great his improvidence and vice, he cannot be brought to ultimate want removes that stimulus to industry and economy which has in the wise providence of God been provided to anticipate the evils of pauperism. The shame which attaches itself to the trembling prayer for individual charities is lost in the demand upon the parish poor fund. Can it be possible that this is indeed the true character of those laws which her wisest statesmen have not only sustained but made the subject of boastful reflection upon other lands? As well might the highway robber, after having stripped the defenseless traveller of all that he possessed, return him a scanty covering from the cold, and then boast of kindness, and call upon his shivering victim to acknowledge a debt of gratitude.

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey
When wealth accumulates and men decay;
Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them and a breath has made,
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied."

The extract is honorable to the speaker. Appreciation of the sorrows of the poor is seldom more fervidly expressed. A critic will forgive the redundancy of adjectives, remembering that it is a disease of young students soon cured. He will not fail also to be struck with the direction of the argument, while there can be no doubt of the side taken. Those familiar with him know Benjamin Harrison, now mature in years, is still bravely on the same side.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAWYER.

LOVE of one's *alma mater* is not an impulse of graduation. Upon the going forth the young man is all confidence ; the world is the reverse of awful to him; it is a field of which he has simply to take possession; or it is the sleeping beauty of Triermain, and he the hero assigned to awake her; the lions, goblins, and thunders along the way are only accessories to make the achievement more remarkable. The popularity of the first picture in the series of Cole's "Voyage of Life," a radiant youth in a shallop flying against a rippled current toward the luminous temple in the sky, is due less to excellence of art than to the truth of the portrayal. Years after exit from the narrow walls of the college, when the slips and disappointments in the career so eagerly challenged have been endured, then it is that the man becomes conscious that his student days were days of exceeding pleasantness.

Benjamin Harrison at the moment of issuance from the university may have felt himself a man in reality he was but a boy. Nevertheless he did

not lose an hour in idle farewells to places of his college trials and triumphs. From labor he went to labor, with two incentives to make him manful —poverty and a trustful *fiance*.

Exactly when he had determined to be a lawyer cannot be stated. He himself cannot fix the time. The probabilities are that it was when he was passing through the preparatory studies at Farmer's College.

Inclination to a pursuit is referable to tastes. The votary feels the stir of capacity long before he enters upon the profession. The artist manifests it in a facility to draw; the soldier discovers it in love of parades and the incidents of the camp; the mechanic and the poet are often born such. It may perhaps be said that multitudes of young men in our country drift toward the law not from any manifest aptitude for it, but because it has been, if it is not now, the directest path to political prizes. This remark cannot be applied to young Harrison. His mental qualities, the gift of nature, are all those of the lawyer as contradistinguished from the politician. Thus drawn to it by innate aptitude, he was further controlled in the choice by one great necessity of his situation.

The farm upon which he was raised had at one time been a considerable possession. Originally there were five hundred acres of it; but his father had been careless in management. His habits of life were in a degree inherited. He was

liberal and generous to a fault. He delighted in the entertainment of strangers as well as of friends. He was never deaf to appeals for assistance. Did a neighbor need an indorser, he addressed himself to John Scott Harrison, and was never refused. When the paper fell due and the principal was not ready to meet it, an extension became necessary, the burthen of which too frequently fell upon the surety. If further security was required, a mortgage was executed upon the home farm. After a while came judgments and foreclosures. To save the estate John Scott himself became a borrower. So, in the course of years, his affairs went from bad to worse, and finally, as has been stated, he was stripped of everything. Through the kindness of relatives, he retained possession of the premises. The family, however, were in a certain sense dependents.

Such was the condition of the father when young Benjamin passed from Farmer's College into Miami University. Such was his condition when, two years afterwards, at the age of eighteen, the son issued from the university. So, when the latter resolved to adopt the law as his profession, the probabilities are that he was mainly moved by the prospect of finding it the shortest avenue to livelihood. Ambition might have had something to do with the choice, but it was a lesser influence.

One of the notable firms of Cincinnati was that of Stover and Gwynne. Few lawyers have been more honored in Western legal circles than Bellamy Stover. His name is yet a synomme for honor, ability and genuine patriotism. There was no end to his kindness. His life was a succession of good deeds. As a judge, the ermine he wore on the bench was even whiter when put off than when he put it on. Socially he was the pattern of a gentleman. As an instructor he retained through life the most affectionate regard of his pupils. Abram Gwynne ably seconded him. Young Harrison was received into their office as a regular student. While thus engaged, he lived at the house of his sister, Mrs. Eaton, whose husband was a physician in active practice.

Before he had quite finished his legal course, listening to a voice in his heart, he made a pilgrimage to Oxford, and on the 20th of October, 1853, was married; after which, with his wife, he returned to his father's place below Cincinnati, where he continued his studies, going up frequently to the office for examination.

It was but natural that in the time he was thus occupied he should be on the lookout for a location. We have seen that his father's farm touched the boundary line of Indiana, which became as familiar to him as his native State. The names of its politicians, lawyers and judges were perfectly within his knowledge—as perfectly, in fact,

as if they were personal acquaintances. He knew the history of the State from its beginning; its territorial history was the history of his grandfather, so that it is impossible that he should not have been interested in it, and equally impossible that it should have been without attraction to him. With excellent judgment he finally resolved to establish himself in Indianapolis. And thither he betook himself in March, 1854.

His marriage was an evidence of self-reliance and confidence in the goodness of Providence. Further evidence illustrative of those qualities may be found in a presentation of his worldly goods at that time.

As we have seen, his father was not in condition to assist him pecuniarily. The good man had strained his remaining resources in educating him and his brother. A fortunate circumstance now intervened. James Finley, a soldier of the war of 1812, had married an aunt of young Harrison, leaving her a widow. From her he had inherited a lot in Cincinnati, which he turned to present account. A purchaser was found willing to advance \$800 on the property; on account of the minority of young Harrison, the transaction was perfected by a bond for a deed upon his arrival at majority. That sum constituted the entire fortune with which he settled down in Indianapolis. A more unaristocratic beginning of life can scarcely be conceived. He was not able

to buy him a house or rent a separate office. He had but one acquaintance in the city, Mr. John H. Rea, who was Clerk of the United States District Court, and as such was domiciled in the State Bank building situated in the triangular corner opposite the Bates House. Mr. Rea kindly offered him a desk, and shortly a "shingle" was nailed at the side of the door, notifying the world that Benjamin Harrison, attorney-at-law, might be found within.

Shortness of means and lack of acquaintanceship were not the only disadvantages with which the young aspirant for legal honors had to contend. The writer became acquainted with him by introduction from Mr. Rea, and well remembers his personal appearance. He was small in stature, of slender physique, and what might be called a blonde. His eyes were gray, tinged with blue, his hair light, reminding one of what in ancient days along the Wabash was more truly than poetically described as "a tow-head." He was plainly dressed, and, in that respect, gave tokens of indifference to the canons of fashion. He was modest in manner, even diffident; but he had a pleasant voice and look, and did not lack for words to express himself. At first one wondered that a young man apparently so lacking in assertion should presume to entrust himself so far from home.

The wonder was heightened when it became

known that the fledgling was a grandson of President William Henry Harrison. He grew, however, with more intimate acquaintanceship; and, by-and-by, men, speaking of him in the vernacular, prophesied that he would develop into a "swinge cat."

Unable, as we have seen, to take a house and furnish it, he secured boarding for himself and Mrs. Harrison in the Roll house, below the bank building at the corner of Maryland street; and while waiting for business, he set about mastering the Indiana statutes and the code of practice, then of recent adoption. Business was slow in coming, but his patience and confidence were equal to the occasion.

About this time, through the kindness of United States Marshal John L. Robinson and his deputy, George McOuat, the young man was appointed crier of the Federal Court, the salary of which in term time was two dollars and a half a day. He speaks of the money received for his services as court crier as the first he ever made.

The great event, probably the greatest, in the life of every lawyer, is his first trial. A thousand employments may come subsequently of higher importance and vastly richer compensation, but that one will never be forgotten. The old practitioner may be carried by retainers from the County Court to the Supreme Court of the State, and for that matter to the Supreme Court of the

United States ; he may have achieved a national reputation, yet, if one will ask him of his life, he will not fail to go back to his first suit and give you faithfully and in the minutest details all its particulars.

The Indianapolis bar at the time young Harrison sought admission to it was composed of gentlemen of unusual ability and reputation. The mere mention of their names is sufficient to justify the statement. Oliver H. Smith, Lucien Barbour, Calvin Fletcher, Ovid Butler, Simon Yandes (of the firm of Fletcher, Butler & Yandes), William Quarles, Hiram Brown, Hugh O'Neal, ex-Governor David Wallace, John L. Ketcham, James Morrison, David McDonald, were seniors in the practice. There were others rising into notoriety who might be mentioned : John Coburn, Napoleon B. Taylor, Albert G. Porter, William Wallace, all of secured renown now, were of the second class. The first named, however, were in the full tide of practice and of ability to make an impression in any court of the Union. In that day speaking ability was especially required ; the tyro who was without it was thought to be a hopeless case in advance. The mere office lawyer was a subject of pity, if not contempt. If in the family there was a boy who had what was called the " gift of gab," his parents and friends foreordained him to the law. Opinion in that respect has undergone a somewhat radical change ; but without dwelling upon it every one

familiar with the gentlemen named would see at a glance the difficulties before young Harrison. He would have to prove not merely his knowledge generally but his ability to cope before a jury with any one or all of the formidable array given. Amongst others, Jonathan W. Gordon, in the fall of 1854, was regarded with great popular favor. Of unquestioned ability, an enthusiast but eccentric, he was serving the people as prosecuting attorney; and, having made the acquaintance of Harrison, he formed a high opinion of him and led him to his first appearance.

There was on the docket an indictment against an individual for burglary. The case came up for hearing in the afternoon, and by chance Horace Mann was announced for a lecture in the evening. Major Gordon was anxious to hear that distinguished person; and, fearful that the trial would be continued into the night, to accommodate himself he requested his new friend to assist him. The invitation was accepted. Judge Majors was presiding. The defence was conducted by Governor Wallace and Sims Colley. As anticipated the evidence was heard, and Major Gordon for the State and Mr. Colley for the defendant finished their speeches in the afternoon; whereupon an adjournment was had.

The interior of the old court-house was dingy, gloomy and forbidding in the daytime; at night it was funereal. When young Harrison came in

to make the concluding argument he found a large assemblage waiting to hear the débüt. On the fixed desk before the judge there were two tallow candles lighted. The clerk in his place below the judge protected by a stout railing sat with his book opened, in a light similarly derived. On the pillars in the centre of the room, and here and there upon the walls, were old-fashioned tin sconces, casting a glow red and murky with smoke, partly of cigars, partly from a leaking stove. At the judge's left sat the sheriff, and at his left again the panel. At the feet of each juror was the inevitable spittoon, and in pauses the plug of tobacco was passed from man to man. In crises of the evidence and the speeches the expectoration was incessant; sometimes the amber fluid missed the targets at which it was projected. Altogether the scene was not such as to impart inspiration to the debutant upon his entry. On the other hand, the wonder grew when he rose to begin, so boyish-looking was he.

He had taken full notes of the evidence, and, like all beginners, fearful of mistakes in statement, was resolved to read from them copiously. A table had been drawn between him and the jury, and when he began, to his consternation, he discovered the light was wholly insufficient. The sheriff had provided but one candle! What should he do?

There was dead silence throughout the dusky

room. His voice, sharp, clear, penetrating, was being heard to the farthest corner. The audience was already in sympathy with him. The situation was embarrassing. He referred to his notes. He wished to be absolutely correct. He shifted the candle. He turned the paper to every angle. It would not do. The pencilling refused to come out. Then, in desperation, he flung the notes away. To his own amazement he found his memory perfect. Best of all he found he could think and speak upon his feet flash-like and coherently. There were not only words at command, but the right words, enabling him to express himself exactly. He found too the pleasure there always is in the faculty of speech with freedom superadded. Confidence came with the discoveries. From that day to this, whether addressing himself to court or jury, or the vaster audiences who furnish the delight of oratory on the platform or stump, he has been an impromptu speaker.

At the conclusion of this maiden effort he was congratulated by everybody.

Under the code of that day the defence had the closing speech, and as the duty devolved upon Gov. Wallace, he was profuse in complimentary references, and dwelt with feeling upon the kindness of the young man's grandfather to him when he was a lad.

The audience dispersed to exploit "that little fellow, Harrison." "What a swinge-cat he is!

Who would have thought it? He is only a boy yet!" they said to each other.

The jury, after retirement sufficient to take the usual votes, returned a verdict of guilty—and Garrison's first trial was a triumph and more. It brought him honorable notoriety and quick induction into business.

Shortly afterwards he was furnished another opportunity, but of a different character. By appointment of Gov. Joseph A. Wright he conducted a legislative investigation of great public interest, and acquitted himself most happily.

He had in the meantime changed his boarding-house from Roll's to a Mrs. Jameson's, in the little old frame building nearly opposite the Denison house. Citizens of the early time will recall it as the residence of David V. Cully.

Mrs. Garrison visited Oxford, and on the 12th of August, 1854, Russell, her eldest child, was born. When she returned in the fall it was necessary to give up the room at Mrs. Jameson's and take a house. Accordingly a removal was had to a building on the south side of Vermont street, east of New Jersey. The new residence was very modest, and in strict accordance with the renter's income. It was one story, with three apartments, of which the front was used as a bed-room, the next as kitchen and dining-room. There was also a shed-kitchen attached. Sometimes they had a "help;" as a rule, however, Mrs. Garrison did

the cooking, and was herself the housekeeper. He assisted her all he could. Not unfrequently he sawed the wood she required; his last duty before going to the office at morning and noon was to fill the wood-box and buckets. Abroad and at home he was void of affectation or pretense. He struggled vigorously against getting in debt and succeeded. Referring to that period, he laughs, and says, "They were close times, I tell you. A five dollar bill was an event. There was one good friend through it all—Robert Browning, the druggist. I shall always recollect him with gratitude. He believed in me. When things were particularly tight I could go into his store and borrow \$5 from the drawer. A ticket in its place was all that was required. Such friends make life worth living."

While a renter of the little Vermont street house, young Harrison accepted an offer of partnership with Mr. William Wallace. In association with Mr. Theodore Haughey, now president of the Indianapolis National Bank, that gentleman was conducting a real estate business extra his law practice. He himself tells of the partnership:

I formed his (Mr. Harrison's) acquaintance very soon after he came to the city. He was about twenty-one years of age, a white-haired, boyish-looking young man, but very pleasant, and it did not take long to find out his superior intellectual qualities, and his sterling worth. It happened that in the year 1855 I had received the

nomination for clerk of Marion county on the people's ticket. The canvass required a good deal of time, and I concluded to offer my young friend a partnership. I met him on the street one day, and told him I had some good clients and a fair practice, and that if he would go into the office and take care of them while I was canvassing, we would share profits. I think this was the only partnership agreement we ever had. I was defeated for the office, so we continued the practice of law together until the year 1860 or 1861. It is pleasant to say that through his assistance and ability as a lawyer we retained our clients and got new ones. The truth is, our business was of a quiet kind—some collections, a good deal of probate business, but once in a while a case would come along that tested the mettle of the young partner.

He very soon disclosed his admirable qualities as a lawyer—quick of apprehension, clear, methodical and logical in his analysis and statement of a case. He possessed a natural faculty for getting the exact truth out of a witness, either by a direct or cross-examination. In this respect he has but few equals anywhere in the profession. Always exacting from courts and juries their closest attention and interest in the cause, and when the cause demanded it, illustrating the rarest powers of the genuine orator. He is a hard worker, giving to every case the best of his skill and labor, so that he never went unprepared, trusting to good luck, or the want of skill or negligence of the other side. He was poor. The truth is, it was a struggle for bread and meat with both of us. He had a noble young wife, who cheerfully shared with him the plainest and simplest style of living. He did the work about his home for a long time himself, and thus made his professional income, not large, keep him independent and free from debt.

The new firm of Wallace & Harrison opened office in a front room of Temperance Hall, on Washington street. A glance at their cash-book discloses the character of their business in gen-

eral. It was not large, but good for the time. The charges were for notarial work, writing deeds, advice, cases before justices of the peace, services in probate and collections, besides which appearances in the Circuit Court were fairly frequent with them. The junior member was quite regular in attending sessions at Danville. He had retainers also in Hancock county. Referring to the profits of the concern, he says, laughing heartily: "I think I was very often ahead of Will in the cash."

In 1860 Mr. Wallace was elected clerk of Marion county. The firm of Wallace & Harrison was thereupon terminated, and speedily succeeded by that of Fishback & Harrison. This was in its turn concluded by Harrison's entry into the army in 1862.

The years thus covered were to the subject of our narrative years of undivided attention to the law. The politics of the State were in constant ferment. The questions between the North and South growing out of the insistence upon the part of the latter of a right to carry slavery into the Territories were advancing to a point of bitterness theretofore unknown in the country. The debates over the Missouri Compromise in Congress, the war on the Kansas border, the raid of John Brown, had followed each other in rapid succession. Here and there, in political circles, there were whispers of an appeal to arms, and

representative men talked politics in a mood strangely threatening. It cannot be supposed that Mr. Garrison was blind to what was transpiring. His perceptions were bright, his feelings quick; he was capable of weighing the claims of the disputants; yet he went his way quietly, attending to his profession and struggling to add to the receipts it yielded him. On the 3d of April, 1858, a daughter had been born to him.

In a certain sense every citizen who debates political issues and feels concerned in them is a politician. In that sense Mr. Garrison was a politician. His position and party affinities were not in the least doubtful; he was outspoken with respect to his opinions; he could not keep silence in the midst of the war of words waging around him. Yet, thinking that his first duty was to his wife and children, whom he wished above all things to be comfortable and happy, he eschewed politics until, in 1860, he became a candidate before the Republican Convention for the nomination of Reporter of the Supreme Court. Even then he reconciled the candidacy with his obligation to family by the idea that the office he sought was strictly in the line of his profession.

Upon the assemblage of the Convention he was nominated, and, entering the race with characteristic zeal and energy, he was elected by a majority of 9,688.

Not seldom it is the unexpected that happens

in politics. Mr. Harrison did his share in stumping the State for his party; upon its success he knew his own depended. He prepared himself carefully for the work, and his speeches were well received. His associate in the canvass part of the time was the lamented Miles Fletcher, candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction. With that gentleman he filled appointments in many counties in the north and along the Ohio river. There was one fixed for him at Rockville, in Parke county, which he attended alone.

Interest in the contest, as will be remembered, was centred chiefly in the battle between Colonel Henry S. Lane and Mr. Thomas Hendricks, who were opposing each other for the Governorship. When young Harrison set out for Rockville he had no other thought than of making his speech of general advocacy of the Republican party and its tickets, State and National, without responsibility other than pertained to his own subordinate struggle. In the absence of a railroad, he was driven in a buggy to the old county town. When he arrived there he knew no one except General Steele. It was his first appearance in that community.

Upon alighting at the old tavern he learned for the first time that Mr. Thomas Hendricks had a meeting appointed for the same hour at the courthouse.

The Republicans gathered around and told him

that the Democrats were hectoring them with suggestions of a joint debate. The young man met the news at first with modest hesitation. Mr. Hendricks' reputation as a speaker and debater was national, and he had been pitted against Colonel Lane as the fittest Democrat in the State to take care of the canvass. The two were, in fact, the supereminent champions of their respective parties, yet a greater unlikeness in manner and method can scarcely be imagined than existed between them. Mr. Hendricks was adroit, subtle, possessed of a stock of words remarkably diplomatic, and a delivery earnest and persuasive. Colonel Lane, on the other hand, was fiery, gesticulative, sarcastic and anecdotal. A toss of the hand, a look sufficed him to stir a crowd to a white heat of enthusiasm. Both were rich in political information. From lives spent in the courts, both were trained logicians.

This description will suggest the reason of the hesitation shown by young Harrison when his political friends first notified him of the challenge to joint debate with the redoubtable Mr. Hendricks. He shrank from the effect of failure upon the interests of his party.

"That is, of course a very unfair proposal," he said. "Mr. Hendricks is at the head of the Democratic ticket, while I am at the tail of the Republican ticket. He is an experienced public debater, while I am on my first trip."

Finally he said: "Gentlemen, if we can't get along with this without showing the white feather, you just tell them we will consent to a joint meeting." And it was so arranged; that is, as Mr. Hendricks did not want to dignify the affair by making it a joint discussion in form, his friends proposed that, as his appointment was first, he should speak two hours, leaving Harrison to follow.

The people, men and women, jammed the court-house. There was scarcely breathing room in it. John S. Davis, a Democratic magnate of the locality, and Mr. Voorhees, the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash," occupied high seats, dividing honors with Mr. Hendricks. Young Harrison went in unnoticed. No one was so poor as to offer him a chair. He was compelled to content himself with a seat on the edge of a desk, his feet hanging pendulously in the air. The three great lights of the Democracy had no fear of him; to the Republicans he was an unknown quantity.

Mr. Hendricks found it easy going. The time was when the Democracy were trying to persuade men that the early and later rains and the increased population and development of the country were all due to their beneficent influences. The speech was pleasant, plausible and strong. To the unknown, perched upon the sharp edge of the desk in the squeeze of the crowd, the two

hours stretched into four, and the applause smote him like blows. At last Mr. Hendricks finished and took his seat, having first generously requested the people to remain.

Then Harrison's turn came. When he appeared on the stand it was amidst a heavy silence. The men gazed at him blankly. The women pitied him. To regain composure he was slow in arranging his documents. He began at length with a well-worded compliment to Mr. Hendricks. Directly he stated a proposition, and charged that at some previous time the Democrats had conceded it to be true. There was a stir in the house indicative of a sensation, and promptly Mr. Voorhees reared his tall form, claiming every eye, and, with a stately wave of the hand to check any demonstration, denied the truth of the statement. An electric flash is not quicker than the retort.

"Fellow-citizens, the denial to which we have listened induces me to amend my assertion. I now say that every Democrat approved the proposition, except Mr. Voorhees. *He was then a Whig.*"

With the spontaneity that distinguishes an American audience above all others, a yell burst out, and before it ended the boyish-looking individual in the stand knew that the house was well stocked with Republicans.

Pleased, confident, smiling, he then took up Mr. Hendricks' points, and answered them one by one,

supporting each statement with the record. As he proceeded the difficulty was to repress the enthusiasm of his friends. At the conclusion Mr. Voorhees announced that he would reply to Mr. Harrison in the evening, and he did, but without avail. The impression left by the young disputant is still ineffaced. The debate has now only to be mentioned in the hearing of a Rockville Republican, and he will laugh, and rub his hands, and break into exclamations. "Such a drubbing as the little fellow did give them! And he was so clean about it! No abuse, no blackguarding! I would walk a hundred miles to see it done over."

The story crept abroad over the State, and the candidate for reporter leaped into notoriety with a bound.

Mr. Harrison took possession of the office, and lost no time in getting to work. Official duties were then added to his current law practice. His days were crowded, and he borrowed hours from the nights. Patiently, and with no word of complaint, he labored for the wife and little ones at home. Ambition he had, but there was never a quickened pulse from it that had not reference to them. The ambition that begins at home is always with a healthful leaven.

One day, the better to secure himself from interruption while making the index to a volume of the reports, he took refuge in a basement-room

of the old First Presbyterian church on the governor's circle. He was so engrossed when the news of the firing on Fort Sumter was brought him; after which he could do nothing more with pen or pencil that day. Text, index, syllabus, clients, all for a time lost interest with him. Like his neighbors, like the loyal millions of the North, he could think of nothing but the insulted flag and the dangers to the Union. Next morning his blood was cooler. Sight of the wife and children restored him to himself, and he returned to work. He has since confessed that the zest in it was gone—his heart was with the gathering soldiers. He attended meetings, and did everything he could except speak. That his pride and sense of propriety forbade. How could he ask another man to enlist, and the uniform not upon his own back? "By-and-by may be," he would say to himself, "*they* may let me go." The pronoun was but a name for his family. It will be seen that in fact he did not become a recruiting agent until he himself became a recruit.

Upon entering the army a volume of the reports was in hand, and he appointed John T. Dye and John Caven to finish it. Mr. Dye became by his appointment deputy-reporter. This was in July, 1862.

The question then arose whether Mr. Garrison's acceptance of a military commission did not vacate his commission as reporter of the Supreme

Court. The Democrats of the State accepted the affirmative theory; and in the fall succeeding Mr. Harrison's enlistment in the army they nominated the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, who afterwards became speaker of the House of Representatives, their candidate. He was elected and brought a mandate against the clerk of the Supreme Court to compel the delivery of the records to him. The Supreme Court decided that Mr. Harrison had vacated the reportership, and that Mr. Kerr had been duly elected to it. The latter, accordingly, entered upon the duties of the office, and continued to discharge them until the fall of 1864. The Republican Convention of that year renominated Colonel Harrison, who was then in the field with his regiment engaged in the Atlanta campaign. He was elected by a majority of 19,713, which was no doubt partly due to the sympathy excited by what seemed a wrongful ouster from office, and an indirect punishment by a Democratic Supreme Court for such a practical manifestation of loyalty to the flag. Then, thinking that if the acceptance of a military commission vacated the civil office, a reverse application of the principle could not do more in the new situation than vacate his Colonelcy—a question to be heard at Atlanta instead of by a session of judges in chambers—Mr. Harrison reappointed Mr. Dye his deputy, and continued with his regiment in the field.

Upon his muster out Colonel Harrison resumed duty as reporter of the Supreme Court. While in the field he had received a letter from his former partner, Mr. W. P. Fishback, then of the firm of Porter & Fishback, inviting him to join that firm, which he subsequently did. The pertinacity with which he would cling to work is well illustrated by a habit he had while reporter of taking a roll of proof in his pocket when he went to the court-house, and of reading it in favorable intervals. He would even carry proof-sheets with him to concerts.

During his period of service in the army his family resided in a house at the corner of Alabama and North streets. At the time of his muster out he was in debt, but the profits of business upon his return, added to those of the reportership, soon relieved him, and he was even able to put some additions and improvements upon his property.

Thanks to an excellent memory, he was able upon re-entering the law office to share its labors with his partners to their satisfaction. Conscious that the practice of the law must remain his dependency through life he never allowed himself to grow rusty in it. While Supreme Court Reporter and United States Senator, he gave every spare minute to the office and to appearances in court. Persistence in such habits has enabled him, despite interruption, to reach the head of the

bar in Indiana, and maintain himself there in face of the rivalry of a number of lawyers of ability to adorn any court in the world.

The firm of Porter, Harrison & Fishback was formed in 1865. About five years afterwards Mr. Fishback went into the newspaper business, and the firm then became Messrs. Porter, Harrison & Hines. A change was next effected by the retirement of Governor Porter. Mr. W. H. H. Miller took his place. In 1883 Mr. Hines retired, and Mr. John B. Elam coming in, the firm-name became what it is to-day—Harrison, Miller & Elam.

General Harrison is a lawyer by natural gifts. Probably no contemporary exceeds him in quickness of comprehension and breadth or reach of judgment. Analysis with him is an instinctive mental operation. He does not go to the books to find principles; with the principles already in mind it is his custom to ask for the authorities. That which ought to be the law, as he sees it, almost invariably turns out to be the law. These qualities make him easily a master of all classes of questions, and equip him for practice in the highest courts as well as in the lower, in criminal cases not less than civil, in matters probate and in matters chancery. They make him also equally formidable before a jury or a judge. His examination and cross-examination of witnesses are never-failing sources of amusement and study to

the bystander. When he has finished with a witness and notified him to stand aside, it is seldom that he has not wrung from him all the person knows of the least pertinency to the issues. On such occasions he is scrupulously kind and courteous. The witness steps down and out and goes his way without bitterness ; if he has crossed himself, very often he is unaware of it. In after reflection he remembers chiefly the pleasant voice and countenance of his interrogator.

So, in argument, in the heat of conflicts, General Harrison is scrupulously observant of the amenities due to the jury, opposing counsel and the presiding judge. His deportment to the latter is so respectful that, while wrestling against an adverse opinion, he was never known to have been the occasion of a scene in court. He is earnest where what he thinks his rights are involved, but never insolent, cringing or angry. In course of speech, speaking of the facts elicited, he keeps himself carefully within the record. In the closing arguments the opposing counsel finds no necessity to interrupt him ; neither has he trouble with him in preparing a record for an appeal.

Tricks, traps, surprises and small advantages are foreign to General Harrison's ideas of professional honor. He may not always be eloquent, but he is always logical ; if the occasion demands it, however, he can be grandly eloquent. His indignation, like his pathos, is natural. He despises

attempts at dramatic effect; he is characteristically straightforward, and his comparisons are never far-fetched; his figures of speech are always clothed in the simplest words, so that he is entertaining to everybody who hears him, and easily understood by everybody. The secret of his power, whether in court or on the stump, lies in the fact that he never fails to make himself perfectly understood.

These are words of high praise; they may even sound like extravagance; and whoever reads them may be curious to have samples set before him that he may decide for himself if what is said is justified by the facts. With this idea the writer consents to furnish two arguments in full.

Speech in the defense of General Alvin P. Hovey, in Miligan vs. Hovey, United States Circuit Court, May term, 1871.

Explanatory.

One of the incredible things incident to the war of the Rebellion—incredible at least to young people reading of that great event—is that there could be found in the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, whose soldiers were numbered by the hundred thousands, enough rebel sympathizers to attempt an armed revolution. But such was the fact, and the proof of it is absolute.

In the spring of 1864 a conspiracy was set on foot with intent to overthrow the government of

the United States. For that purpose a secret society known as the Order of American Knights, or Order of Sons of Liberty, was organized. The immediate object was the separation of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky from the Eastern States; failing in that, the membership was to join fortunes with the South. It operated with grips, pass-words and obligations of secrecy. Admitting the credibility of confessing leaders, it comprehended a membership of from 75,000 to 125,000 in Indiana; from 80,000 to 108,000 in Ohio; from 40,000 to 70,000 in Kentucky; from 100,000 to 130,000 in Illinois; from 20,000 to 40,000 in Missouri; and in Michigan and New York about 20,000 each. Vallandingham, in a speech at Dayton, Ohio, placed the membership at 500,000.

It was moreover a military organization, with a full complement of officers extending down from a commander-in-chief, and a fair supply of arms and ammunition. By inspection of invoices, there had been imported into Indiana alone, in February and March, 1864, 30,000 guns and revolvers, property of the so-called Sons of Liberty.

As might have been foreseen, the attention of the general government was drawn to the order. Arrests were made, followed by a prosecution. A military commission was assembled at the United States Court rooms in Indianapolis, September 19, 1864, by order of Brevet Major-Gen-

eral Alvin P. Hovey, before which, on the 21st of October, Wm. A. Bowles, Andrew Humphries, Horace Heffren, Lambdin P. Milligan and Stephen Horsey, citizens of Indiana, were solemnly arraigned for conspiracy against the government of the United States. The Ritual of the Order was submitted in proof, and amongst the witnesses there was one of the traitorous major-generals. The trial continued through many days, with result finally that the accused were found guilty and sentenced to death. President Lincoln subsequently commuted the sentence to imprisonment for life. The case, on habeas corpus, was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States by Major Gordon, counsel for the defense, who was assisted in argument there by Jeremiah Black and James A. Garfield. The court held that there was no jurisdiction in a military commission to try people of Indiana, for the reasons that Indiana was not within the theatre of war, and that civil government was in full operation within its borders. The prisoners, at the time in the Columbus (Ohio) penitentiary, were of course discharged.

Lambdin P. Milligan, while in the prison, had been set to work in a paint shop, and, claiming to have been poisoned with lead, upon his release brought suit for damages against James R. Slack and twenty-two defendants, amongst whom notably were General A. P. Hovey, Joseph Holt, Judge Advocate General of the United States Army, and

Oliver P. Morton, Governor of Indiana. The proceeding was begun in the Common Pleas Court of Huntington county, Indiana ; subsequently, on petition of General James R. Slack and others, it was transferred to the United States Circuit Court for the district of Indiana.

General Benjamin Harrison appeared as an assistant in the defense, under appointment of President Grant. Judge Drummond presided at the hearing.

The trial excited great public interest, as at that time the echoes of the war were still distinctly heard. The rulings of the Supreme Court were of course imperative upon Judge Drummond ; and there having been no jurisdiction in the military commission, there was a technical right of recovery. This the defendants recognized, and confined themselves to mitigation of damages.

That the contest was exciting may be justly inferred from the fact that it was chiefly between Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, for the prosecution, and General Harrison, for the defendants. The sympathies of the former were for his client on principle, for, if not himself a Son of Liberty, he was the father of the idea of a separate Northwestern Confederacy. On the other hand, the defendants were all personal friends of the latter, while some of them had been his comrades in arms. Governor Hendricks felt the intensity of

the prejudice existing against his client, but went through the ordeal with unflinching zeal and courage. General Harrison rested his plea of mitigation upon the treasonable acts of the plaintiff and his associate Sons of Liberty, and his struggle with the presiding judge was at times severe. To a suggestion from the court that he should cease further introduction of witnesses, Harrison replied that he would of course stop when ordered to, but so far as it was a matter in his discretion as counsel he should continue to offer further proof. He succeeded in getting of record the whole story of the treason; then the case went to the jury.

General Harrison's argument was as follows:

Gentlemen of the Jury: The case you have been called to try is a legacy of the war. It has brought back to our minds with vividness the vicissitudes and anxieties of that protracted struggle for national life. You have heard not of personal controversies, or of commerce or trade, but of historic events, of war, of State invasion, of gigantic and treasonable conspiracies against the public peace. The acts of which the plaintiff complains were done by the defendants in the character of public officers. They were United States soldiers, who had heard the cry of national distress, and with brave, true hearts, had forsaken all and dared all, that they might preserve us a Nation. Some of them are the maimed survivors of that struggle. By the blessing of God upon their valor the supremacy of the constitution and laws was asserted and restored. And now they are assailed, under the shield of that constitution and those laws, in a court whose continued existence is due to them and their associates in arms, and that too by one who compassed the destruc-

tion of that charter of liberty and personal right from which he now draws his weapons of attack.

I was saying that the acts complained of here on the part of the defendants were acts of an official character. They were not private injuries, nor trespasses, or wrongs committed through spite, but they were official acts. General Hovey, as commander of this military district, arrested the plaintiff. The commissioners who sat upon the trial of the case were soldiers of the Union, sworn to obey their superior officers, and acted upon such discretion as was left them under their official oaths to do their duty under the orders of the government. These gentlemen had been summoned to sit on this commission. Could they have refused to perform that duty? The command was an imperative one, and a refusal to obey would have been treated as being as grave an offence and as conspicuous disregard of military duty as a refusal to march at the trumpet call. What is the duty of a soldier?

"His not to reason why,
His not to make reply,
His but to do or die."

I do not pretend that the order of any military commander could compel a court-martial to find a verdict of guilty or not guilty, but the duty of this court-martial was to sit through the trial, and hear the evidence and pronounce a judgment upon it in accordance with their conscientious convictions. Had any one of the gentlemen composing that court refused upon receiving his detail as a member to serve, he would have been himself liable to trial before a court-martial for disobedience of orders.

I shall speak to you presently upon the question whether the evidence before the commission was sufficient to support their finding, and, if it was, then I shall claim for them at your hands a full exculpation.

At the outset, then, I remark that this case is one which every man feels, in his heart, ought not ever to have been commenced. This is not only the expression

of private feeling, but both Congress and the Legislature of this State have expressed, in the form of law, their opinion that such actions as this ought not to be brought. The Congress of the United States, as early as 1863, and in several statutes passed since, have declared the opinion that when an officer, during a war, acting in good faith under an order of the President, has made an arrest in the interest of public peace and for the national security, he ought not afterward to be dragged before a jury to be amerced in damages. The Legislature of this State, by a statute passed in the year 1867, have expressed a like opinion, and enacted that where such an action was brought, the damages should in no case exceed five dollars. I do not speak to you for the purpose of discussing questions of law; questions of law the court will determine. I speak of the simple fact that Congress and our Legislature have both spoken in harmony with that feeling which arises in every true man's heart when he hears of cases like the present one—the feeling that they ought not to be brought. If this plaintiff, by his own fault—by having become a party to a treasonable and wicked conspiracy—drew upon himself this arrest, then he should be content that he has suffered but a part of the penalty of the great wrong that he contemplated.

There are persons walking to-day free and untrammeled through this whole land, who sought during the war, by secret conspiracy and overt violence, to destroy the Union—even since this trial began we have heard of the great leader of the Southern Confederacy publicly addressing his fellow-citizens of the South. He walks unrestrained, and is yet attempting as far as in him lies to rekindle the fires of revolution. How grand has been the magnanimity of our government! Look at human history from its beginning until now, and show me on its pages anything that can compare with the sublime magnanimity of the American Government towards its domestic enemies. Among the crimes against mankind this rebellion stands supreme. In lands where oppression has crushed the people to the dust, revolution has often shown itself in the assertion of right principles of

Government, and in the struggle towards that which our fathers attained here in the American Republic. This we have seen. But it was reserved for traitors in America—for citizens debauched by long connection with the institution of slavery—to kindle a war against the Government whose hand had never been felt by them except as it conferred blessings upon them. After their great crime these men are free to-day. The nation has covered them with the mantle of forgetfulness and amnesty. And is it too much to ask that acts like those complained of in the present case, which are only the consequences the plaintiff brought upon himself by previous acts of treasonable conspiracy against the Government—that they shall be covered with the same mantle?

If the men who sought with bloody hand and by treasonable conspiracy to destroy the nation shall go free, shall they who spent their blood to save it from destruction be arraigned before a jury of the country and amerced in damages for doing the acts which the defendants did?

The charges against the plaintiff, upon which he was put upon trial before the Military Commission, were of the gravest character. If he was guilty of them death was the mildest punishment that should have been visited upon him. If he, a citizen of this State, dwelling here under the beneficent protection of our State government, remote from the institution of slavery, which was the spring of treason and the corner-stone of rebellion; if he, dwelling here, engaged with others in a direct conspiracy against the government, and lent his sympathies, not to the defenders of our bleeding country, but to rebels; if he did not only all this, but sought to turn loose the dogs of war within our peaceful States, corresponding secretly with the enemies of the country, and invited them to our soil instead of arraying himself against them; if he, conspiring against the peace of our State, stood upon our soil and sent out his voice to rebels across the river—if he did all this, then I say that death, ignominious death, was the least punishment which any true man would say ought to have been

visited upon him. Did the officers who arrested him, and the court that tried him, have reason to believe him guilty of these crimes?

These offenses grew out of, and were connected with, a secret order known at different times by different names, but having the same officers, the same membership, and the same design. What were the purposes of that secret order? Gentlemen, its history is a black page in the history of Indiana, and yet we are compelled to turn our minds to the consideration of it for a brief moment. Far rather would I call into review before you those pages of our Nation's history which have been made glorious by a record of the exploits of Indiana soldiers in the field; but for the present let us look, painful as is the duty, at this page made black with treason. What were the purposes of this secret order? We could not expect to find them plainly stated in its rituals or oaths. Such purposes always wear a cloak; yet we may hope to find in these rituals something which may furnish a clue. We may hope now and then to peep through the cloak in which treason wrapped itself, and see something of its hideous lineaments. We read in these rituals a good deal about education and literature, and we hear, at least in one of its councils, that the subject of establishing a great university in which the political lessons of the order were to be taught was gravely discussed. The distinguished Senator (Mr. Hendricks) has called attention to the testimony of some of the witnesses in regard to this matter, as if he would have you believe that it was really one of the purposes of the order. Will you believe, gentlemen; for one moment, that the establishment of newspapers, the cultivation of letters, or the founding of a university was ever in the serious contemplation of its members? That is too thin a disguise to hide the face of treason.

There is in the obligations, at least in one of them, the vow not to reveal any of the contemplated designs of the order, and it proves that there was something contemplated not revealed in the books. Then we find, in the next place, another vow not to reveal secrets com-

municated by a brother of the order, but rather than do so to suffer death. Now what were these secrets which, when communicated to a brother, he was to hold sacred under a penalty of death? We find also another obligation not to reveal any conjectured purpose. When these men, many of them deceived, were brought into the vestibule of the order, where only some general political lessons were shown, they took an oath not to reveal a conjectured purpose, and as they acquired the degrees, and the darkness of the designs of the order dawned upon them, that oath was there as a safeguard against disclosures and to constrain them to conceal purposes not exposed in the books. Now, gentlemen, what were those purposes? I insist that in the rituals of the order there is to be found a muster-in oath into the Southern army. I shall read you presently what, as you now look back and recall public events, can have no other meaning. And I charge it upon them to-day that, as one of the effects of the obligations assumed by them in their ritual, the members of the order of American Knights, or Sons of Liberty, were mustered in as soldiers of the Confederate army in the State of Indiana.

The following is a portion of the obligation taken by a "Neophyte," read from the ritual of the order:

"I do further promise that I will, at all times, if needs be, take up arms in the cause of the oppressed—in my country first of all—against any Monarch, Prince, Potentate, Power or Government usurped, which may be found in arms, and waging war against a people or peoples, who are endeavoring to establish, or have inaugurated, a Government for themselves of their own free choice, in accordance with, and founded upon, the eternal principles of Truth which I have sworn in the V, and now in this presence do swear, to maintain inviolate, and defend with my life. This I do promise, without reservation or evasion of mind; without regard to the name, station, condition or destination of the invading or coercing power, whether it shall arise within or come from without."

Who were the "oppressed" people in whose behalf

the Neophyte, coming in through the vestibule of the temple, upon bended knee, swore to take up arms? Who were the people oppressed by an usurper? Which the States against whom a usurper was waging war? Answer it upon your oaths, gentlemen. Do you doubt that the persons taking that oath on bended knee did not understand it as binding them to take up arms on behalf of the rebel Confederacy? It can mean nothing less. No man familiar with the history of the times can believe otherwise of it. The oath was a muster-in oath, and he who took it was as much a recruit of Jefferson Davis' army as if he had been actually in the army of the rebel States. If he regarded his obligations, if he meant to perform his vows, he was as much a servant of Jefferson Davis, and as much bound to obey his orders as if he had been mustered into the army of Lee then confronting Grant at Richmond.

Major Gordon showed you plainly that the political doctrines upon which the South took up arms against the government are as plainly stated and announced in these rituals as they ever were in any political convention. The supremacy of the general government is utterly denied in them. Supremacy—sovereignty—is declared to be in the States. Any attempt to resist or thwart the resolutions of any of the States is declared to be usurpation and a crime.

But further than this, as if it were not enough to swear to take up arms in behalf of the Confederacy, the ritual contains an oath binding upon every man who entered the order, not to serve in the armies of the United States. Let me read to you, for a moment, from the ritual: "That my sword shall ever be drawn in support of the right, and that I will never take up arms in any case as a mercenary." Now, in the light of the public proclamations, editorials and speeches issued by these men, who were the soldiers of the United States? They were "Lincoln hirelings"—they were "mercenaries." Tell me if those were not the familiar names by which the Federal troops were known and designated here in Indiana by the men who had no sympathy for the cause for which those troops were fighting.

What did the man who took this obligation understand it to mean if not that he was swearing never to serve in the army of the United States? While loyal men were going up and down the land exhorting their fellow-citizens to come to the defense of the Union, these Sons of Liberty were dragging the young and unsuspecting into their ranks.

Here, then, we have in the ritual of this secret order an oath, on the one hand, never to take up arms in defense of the government, and, on the other, a muster oath into the service of the rebel government. That more than a political organization was contemplated is plain from another fact—all cripples were excluded. The person admitted took an obligation never to introduce a cripple or person of unsound mind into the order. The one-armed or the one-legged cripple had as much political influence, as much political power, as the man who had all the limbs which God had given him, and it was as important that he should be properly instructed in correct political principles. Should a poor cripple be excluded from participation in the order, if it was merely a political organization, because, perchance, he had lost a limb while serving his country? What did this mean, gentlemen? They who took the obligation understood it to mean that they were to do military service; and just as the mustering officer of the United States stripped the recruit and examined him to see if he was able for the fray, so these men swore not to admit into their organization any man who would be unfit for the strife when the strife contemplated should come. They excluded the African, too. It was a very great work of supererogation to do that; for if there was ever any negro in Indiana so degraded as to ask for political association with such men, I have never heard of the fact. There were none of that kind, degraded, as many had been, by years of servitude. I never have seen, nor heard, nor read of one, either here or down in the South, whose heart did not always beat in response to the music of the Union. I never heard of, never met one who was not the friend of the Union soldier. Instances are

plenty—the history of our war is full of them—where our men, fleeing from Southern prison pens, crippled, exhausted, famished, owed their lives to the faithful and unswerving loyalty of black men. One of the meanest things in this whole order, one of the meanest political sentiments it ever uttered, was its constant expression of hatred of the negroes. Some of you may have seen a little poem by John Hay, which, though rough in language, strikes a chord in every true man's heart, and gives the strongest rebuke to the unworthy feeling of which I am speaking.

Sergeant Tilman Joy, a resident of "Spunky Pint," in the State of "Illanoy," and a Democrat, heard his country's call, and

"Laid his politics out of the way
For to keep till the war was through."

Then he sought his home, bringing with him "Banty Tim," a colored boy. His old political associates assembled (whether in a lodge of the Sons of Liberty or in open Democratic convention is not disclosed) and resolved (you may have heard the sentiment before) that "This is a white man's country." The conclusion, as communicated to Sergeant Joy by a committee, was that

"The nigger has got to mosey
From the limits of Spunky Pint."

The Sergeant tells them a story of Vickburg. How, when our left struck the heights and were repulsed, he was left wounded, almost dying on the glacis, unsheltered from the blistering Southern sun. And here I must give you the story in the touching language of the author:

"Till along toward dusk I saw a thing,
I couldn't believe for a spell:
That nigger—that Tim—was a crawlin' to me
Through that fire-proof, gilt-edged hell!
The rebels saw him as quick as me,
And the bullets buzzed like bees;
But he jumped ter me, and shouldered me,
Though a shot brought him once to his knees;

But he staggered up and packed me off,
With a dozen stumbles and falls,
Till safe in our lines he dropped us both,
His black hide riddled with balls."

Here, in this rough picture, we have the true, honest sentiment of a man conscious of patriotic obligation and who is willing to stand up for the friend of his country. On the other hand, in the obligations of this order I have read to you, we have not only outspoken hatred against the black man, but against all who stood by the flag and its defenders.

But, after all, as we could not expect to have them written plainly in their books, we must look to the acts of the founders and managers of this organization to ascertain its true purposes.

The court will tell you that the law of conspiracy is that if two or more agree and combine to do an unlawful act, and it be shown either by express words or by conduct pointing in the common direction when the agreement and common consent of the mind to do the act is established, each man is answerable for every word and for every deed of those with whom he has thus conspired in furtherance of the common design. Keep in mind, gentlemen, while we trace the connection of Milligan with this secret order, that if we once bring him into connection with, and to an assent of mind to, the great crime that was contemplated by the Sons of Liberty, he then becomes responsible in the eye of the law for every word and every act which Bowles or Bullitt or Dodd said or did in execution of the common treasonable object.

Touching the purpose of the order, as drawn from the declarations of its members, we have from Dr. Wilson a statement of them as given in a meeting of the Grand Council held in Indianapolis in November, 1864. Now, Dr. Wilson is not a friend or associate of either of the defendants in this cause; I think I may even say that he does not come here with his mind at all prepossessed in favor of Union soldiers. On the contrary, he comes reluctantly, an associate, co-conspirator and friend

of the plaintiff. He comes because brought here by the process of this court. He comes not yet weaned from his allegiance to the organization of which the plaintiff was a member, for here, on the witness stand, before you, he has declared that in the principles and purposes of this order he yet finds that which commended itself to his heart and conscience. Will the Senator (Mr. Hendricks) assail Dr. Wilson? Is he a credible witness? Much of the testimony that we have brought before you has been peculiar in that we have had to go into the camp of these traitors and bring them from it to tell you of their treason. Dr. Wilson says that in the meeting held in November, 1864, at which Milligan was present, as confessed by himself and testified to by other witnesses, the designs of the order were plainly stated by Mr. Wright. The Senator will try to make you believe that that was at the September meeting, and not at the November meeting, because a witness, Harrison, thinks that it was in September Wright was here giving his lessons, but we have Wilson's positive testimony that it was in November. He swore to it before the Military Commission, and he swears to the same thing here. He swears that Milligan was present. I read now from the testimony of James B. Wilson, as reported in the journal:

"I was present at Indianapolis at a meeting of the Grand Council, in November, 1863, within a month or two after I went into the order. I think there was a Military Committee appointed at that meeting, and that Mr. Dodd delivered a speech to the Council or to the members of it. I think he said something about seizing railroads, cutting telegraph lines and driving away the State government. I could not repeat any of the words he said. He intimated, I think, something about taking possession of the railroads; that that could be done and the telegraph wires cut, and that any movement that might be contemplated by the order could in that way be carried out without interference from the State authorities. I think about fifty persons were present when he made that statement."

I will not tire you by reading further. You will re-

member the witness stating that the overthrow of the State government was contemplated, and that when that design was consummated the Committee of Thirteen was to assume control of the State. Dodd was to be Governor, and the other State offices were to be filled from the committee named.

Here, then, is the testimony of a witness unfriendly to these defendants and a political and personal friend and associate of the plaintiff, a member of this order, bound to Mr. Hendricks' client by the obligations solemnly sworn to, giving us its purposes as declared in a public meeting by its Grand Commander—a public meeting, too, as I shall show you presently, at which the plaintiff Milligan was present.

Then, in the very first State meeting of the order, its Grand Commander publicly declared it an object of his society to aid the rebels of the South by overthrowing the State government, and the authority of the National government within the State, and in their place establishing another government in sympathy with the rebel government in the Southern States.

Another purpose declared at that meeting and at Chicago was to release the rebel prisoners, five thousand of whom were in camp here, watched by a small guard. They were an army brought here from the front through the successful valor of our armies, some from Vicksburg and some from other fields of victory in the South. They were to be released and turned into our streets to begin here the work of destruction and outrage which had marked their course everywhere that they trod upon the soil of the loyal States.

Gentlemen, the guilt, the horrid guilt, of men who could contemplate turning loose into the streets of our beautiful city five thousand enraged prisoners, with arms in their hands, to begin the work of rapine and blood cannot be expressed in words. It was a purpose conceived in devilish malignity. The man who could cherish such a purpose, who could take a step in its execution—what does he not deserve of punishment at the hands of those against whose lives and homes and property he

plotted? We had prisoners starving for years in some of the prison pens of the South, but if ever the sympathies of the men belonging to this order were moved in their behalf there is no record of it in this case or in history.

Another purpose disclosed was the destruction of government property. The government had collected in warehouses immense stores which were being sent forward to supply the army in its contemplated campaigns. The railroads traversing our country and the steam-boats navigating the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were loaded with these stores, the destruction of which was sufficient sometimes to thwart a great operation. Still another of the objects of the order, as disclosed here, was to put aboard our steamboats, freighted with stores and yet more precious lives, their infernal machines, which, in the night time, when men slept, should kindle fires and bring destruction to life and property. This was a purpose canvassed and actually listened to with approbation by such men as Bowles, and Milligan, and Dodd, and Horsey, and Humphries, and Dr. Wilson himself, who tells you of it. It was listened to as one would listen to the common details of a business affair. The per cent. that was to be paid for this infamous service by the rebel government, out of money stolen from our paymasters, was definitely fixed, and it was boasted that already government property had been thus destroyed.

Is not language utterly powerless to express the abhorrence, the utter detestation which an honest heart must feel against monsters who could conceive such purposes as these? Mr. Hendricks talked to us a little in his opening speech of the horrible character of the proceedings before the Military Commission. I wish I might arouse him to a like abhorrence of this horrible conspiracy, and I shall look, gentlemen, to see if, in his concluding speech, he will not employ that gift of language and eloquence with which he has been endowed in denouncing it.

We have seen that at Chicago Judge Bullitt, of Kentucky,

Bowles, Dodd, Wilson and others assembled, discussed projects like those I have described as coolly as we would a transaction in real estate. Where were their consciences and moral nature? There is not a villain in a penitentiary, North or South, whose heart ever compassed or whose hand was ever reached out to execute a plan so utterly hellish as this. That a man who had conceived such plots, and who was only prevented from sharing in their execution by being taken into custody, and held for trial, by patriotic officers of the government, can come into our court rooms and sit here, day after day, seeking to recover damages against them, is an amazing instance of clemency. Whatever purpose Lee, Beauregard, or John Morgan and the marauding guerrillas who operated through the border States under him, might put upon them to accomplish, these conspirators were organized to accomplish. Whatever purpose they had, these men had. Not Grant, not Sherman, not the brave men who stood with Indiana regiments in defense of our government, were the friends of Bowles, and Milligan, and Humphreys, and Horsey. Their friends were the enemies of the country.

Consider next the condition of things at that time in our army. Sherman, in the spring of 1864, started on his grand campaign to the sea; and from May until the 2d of September he was toilsomely marching from Chattanooga to Atlanta, his way marked with the graves of his intrepid soldiers, killed by the sympathizers and associates of this plaintiff. Grant, starting about the same time, was making his difficult and bloody march through the Wilderness and Spottsylvania to Petersburg. The time was when all the energies of our people were upon a strain, when every patriotic heart was filled with unutterable anxiety for the success of those great campaigns. It was at the very crisis of our country's fate, these conspirators, here, in Indianapolis, in June, the plaintiff being present, as I shall show you, were devising and debating schemes intended to balk our armies, to turn back the tide of Union victories.

To bring to your minds something of the condition of

the country at that time, I desire to read to you, as part of my speech, a communication or two from the Generals commanding the armies of the United States:

HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.
CITY POINT, VA., August 16, 1864.

TO HON. E. B. WASHBURNE:

Dear Sir: I state to all citizens who visit me that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North. The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day.

With this drain upon them, the end is not far distant, if we will only be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is a divided North. This might give them reinforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quickly enforced the enemy would become despondent, and would make but little resistance. I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the Presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects.

They hope a counter revolution; they hope the election of the Peace candidate. In fact, like "Micawber," they hope for something to "turn up." Our Peace friends, if they except peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would but be the beginning of war with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have "peace on any terms" the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed; they would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay for the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.

Yours truly,
U. S. GRANT.

WAR DEPARTMENT, September 14.

MAJOR-GENERAL DIX, NEW YORK:

Lieutenant-General Grant telegraphs this department in regard to the draft as follows:

CITY POINT, 10.30 A. M., September 13.

HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War:*

We ought to have the whole number of men called for by the President in the shortest possible time. Prompt action in filling our armies will have more effect upon the enemy than a victory over them. They profess to believe and make their men believe there is such a party North in favor of recognizing Southern independence that the draft cannot be enforced. Let them be undeceived.

U. S. GRANT, *Lieutenant-General.*

*The following despatch is from the present General of our armies:

ATLANTA, GA., 6.30 P. M., September 18

HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War:*

I am very glad to hear that the draft will be enforced. First, we want men; second, they come as privates to fill up our old and tried regiments, with their experienced officers already on hand; and third, because the enforcement of the law will manifest a power resident in our government equal to the occasion. Our government, though a Democracy, should in times of trouble and danger be able to wield the power of a great nation. All well.

W. T. SHERMAN, *Major-General.*

The General-in-chief, commanding one of our armies, then in the immediate theatre of its operations, now President of the United States, speaking from his official position, thus declared that the hopes of the Confederacy hung on the movement which these men were endeavoring to inaugurate in the State of Indiana. Their plans must have been known; their promises to kindle a rebellion here were known at Richmond; and thus that struggle was long protracted which would have ended at once but for the hope held out that our home governments would be assailed by armed forces composed of traitorous citizens, and the troops recalled from the front to prevent their overthrow.

I have read these brief extracts from the communications of the great Generals who were leading our armies in the east and west, to show you how much the success of their campaigns depended on the enforcement of the draft, and the prompt suppression of disorders at home. They well appreciated the importance of the command that General Hovey held, and the help that would come to them by the prompt execution of the draft in Indiana, and the suppression of resistance to the National authority. Here then was the Confederacy stumbling towards its fall, and here was a movement on foot to restore its vigor by so weakening the power of our armies that they might not be able to maintain themselves in the field. The painful condition of affairs at that time through the whole country it is impossible for me to describe. It would be impossible for you or me to recall the anxiety, the watchfulness and the suspense everywhere to be seen in the country in 1864. The old mother in her country home, her boys all gone, plies her busy needle, and with

every stitch lifts a prayer to God for victory and for the safety of her boys. The old father following again the plough which he had long left to be guided by the stalwart hands of the boy now gone, as he turns the furrow, his drooping form bent to unwonted labor, recalls the features of that boy, and longs for his return, yet is willing that the supreme sacrifice of the loved life may be made, if such sacrifice is necessary to save the Union. Then, when the old people gathered around the fireside altar, when the old man came from the field, and the old family Bible came down from its shelf, and they bowed alone before God, what was the burden of prayer? How the old man's voice, quivering with emotion, lifted itself toward the throne of grace in the one all-absorbing supplication to God for victory and the quick return of the absent one. And how many houses there were in which lonely wives and fatherless little ones dragged wearily on, their days and nights full of painful watching and apprehension. A cloud of anxiety seemed settled above their roof. The provider gone, the wife is doomed to unaccustomed toil. And then, too, there were times in such households as I have described, when sickness came, and the child stretched upon the bed, moaning and tossing with fever, asked with parched lips for papa, and when he would come home. And the counterpart of this I have seen with my own eyes—where the soldier, hearing the news from home, and without hope of release from duties in the field, braced his heart, wrung as it was with anguish and sorrow, and went forward to meet the enemy.

These are no fancy pictures; they are only imperfectly drawn. I have myself seen brave men by the camp-fire and on the march in tears at such news from home, yet submitting themselves to the exigencies of the service.

So, all over the land, in public places of information, about newspaper offices, the anxious crowds gathered to see whether the painful struggle was drawing to a close, to hear whether at last God seemed to be favorable to us in the strife. And then, in counterpart, I remember well

a hillside I looked upon only three days after Vallandigham wrote the letter of the 12th of June, 1864, in which he told his friends that Sherman was brought to a stand-still and falling back. I saw at Resaca the dead that had died for you and me. Our own brave boys, who, only a half hour before, I had seen and greeted in health and life, were lying there all mangled and lifeless. And why? Because they loved their country and were not willing that traitors should trample the flag in the dust. My distinguished friend who has addressed you for the plaintiff in this case, and will soon speak to you again, has said a great deal about the horrible character of the trial of his client before the Military Commission, and has talked a great deal about the citizen and his rights. Let him now speak an honest word for the soldier. Let him tell you how his heart burns in good honest sympathy with the men who stood for the defense of his country and theirs. There were other scenes of the war besides those witnessed upon the battle-field upon which men could not look without emotion. Down yonder, at Andersonville, for instance, thousands of our brave boys were guarded in a pen with nothing to shield them from the pitiless sun, in rags and tatters, starving and emaciated, until they were wrecks in body and gibbering idiots. Such was the work of Milligan and his co-conspirators of the North, who, by holding out aid and comfort to the enemy, protracted the war. The rebel guards who guarded the prison at Andersonville did not more bitterly hate everything that was loyal than did he and his associates here in Indiana.

Gentlemen, I ask your attention for a little while to the question whether the plaintiff was a participant in this business with full knowledge. That he was elected a Major-General of the Sons of Liberty is not denied, nor is it pretended that he ever declined the office. The whole matter, then, so far as he is concerned, is simply, did he have information of his election? Three other Major-Generals were elected with him, and if they all knew the fact, how singular if he did not, Humphreys admits that he was notified. Bowles knew of his

election, and John C. Walker was not left in ignorance; he actually entered on the duties of his military office. The three were appointed Major-Generals at the same time with Milligan. Now, if you and I, members of an order, should be elected to offices in it, and at subsequent meetings, two of them at least, we should be present, is it probable we should be left uninformed of the honor done us? Milligan was elected in September at a meeting of the Grand Council. He talked with Dodd and others who were present, and heard all the speeches that have been testified about, yet nobody told him that he had been elected Major-General! That is his story. Do you believe it? He was present at the November meeting following. He does not deny that. And Stidger and Wilson both tell you that at that meeting the military part of the organization was talked of, and Stidger said, both in his evidence before the Commission and here, that Milligan was a member of the committee at the November meeting; and, from the other evidence, it is clear that it was the military committee of the order of which he was a member. Then, two months after his election, we find him in the Grand Council. How came he of the Grand Council? By the evidence the Major-Generals were ex-officio members. Was Milligan elected a member? Was he sent as a delegate to the Grand Council? If so, by whom? If a delegate from any county temple, where is the evidence of it? If he was there not as a Major-General of the order, why was he there at all, and how?

Now, at the November meeting it was said by the witnesses, Harrison and Stidger, that this military part of the organization was fully canvassed, and Wilson, who is not favorably disposed to us, speaks of Dodd's revealing the varied details of his plan for concentrating forces at Indianapolis and seizing the capital. Still the plaintiff tells you that he was not aware that he had any connection with them. In the next place, he was present, if not at the February meeting, at the June meeting of the State Council. I know he denied this as a witness, but I saw it in the faces of this jury, and from what I

know of the way men look at such stories, that you did not credit his story touching his trip to Hamilton, Ohio. Stidger swears he was present in June. Harrison thinks he was there, but is not certain. Besides their testimony we have that of Mr. Ibach. Judging from his conduct on the stand, we may take it for granted that he was not a friend of the defendants, nor did he want them to succeed in this case. Before the Military Commission he testified as proved, that Bowles, for whom he was called, was present at the June meeting. He now says he does not think he was. We find by the testimony of Stidger, and the testimony of Ibach, the friend of the plaintiff, there can be no doubt that in June, 1864, when the proposed military operations were again canvassed before the Grand Council, Milligan was present, and Stidger says he was on the military committee then appointed.

We have more direct evidence still of his complicity in these plans. Harrison was sent by Dodd, as Grand Commander, to communicate with Milligan at his home in Huntington. The message he bore him was not to be trusted through the mails of the United States; so it was sent according to the very plan spoken of in Chicago—that the Grand Commander should send to the Major-Generals of the order information by private couriers, and that they in turn should communicate it in the same manner to their immediate subordinates. I say, in execution of that very design, Dodd sent Harrison, the Grand Secretary of the order, with a secret summons to Milligan. Harrison says Dodd did not say to him that the purpose of the meeting to which Milligan was summoned was to consult as to how they should seize the State government, but he did tell him what the plan was and that he should go and notify Milligan to come down here on a certain day for the purpose of consultation. Was it necessary for Dodd to say to Harrison, or for Harrison to say to Milligan, what the purpose of the consultation was? Do you not know that Harrison understood well, when Dodd disclosed his plan to him, the purpose for which Milligan was wanted here? And do you not just as well know that Milligan understood

it also? Harrison is not a friend of ours. He is not the fellow or associate of these defendants, but a co-conspirator and fellow of the plaintiff. He tells you that he himself laid before Milligan all of Dodd's plans for an insurrection in Indiana. Now, if Milligan had not had Dodd's confidence, and if Dodd had not had his confidence, would he have sent this messenger to him at all? He did not stop with anybody else. Going hence to Lafayette, and from Lafayette up through the Wabash Valley toward Huntington, he held communication with no man, but sped on his way to the home of Milligan, because his mission was to him. Dodd knew Milligan's commission and place in the order. Harrison H. Dodd, the Grand Commander of the State, knew that Milligan was thoroughly committed to the treason about to be inaugurated in the State. Otherwise he would not have sent the message to him by the one man in all Indiana proper to carry it—the Grand Secretary of the order. The theory that Milligan was a Major-General makes everything plain, for the northeastern part of the State was Milligan's military district, and in all that section there was but one person to whom, as Grand Commander, he should communicate orders. He had nothing to do with messages to the councils of the counties—the county temples, as they were called—so his messenger goes straight from the head of the conspiracy here in Indianapolis to the Major-General at Huntington, before whom he secretly lays the whole plan. Do you not think Dodd gave Harrison to understand that Milligan was all right before he made the revelation to him? Do you think, if any of you had met Mr. Harrison on the cars between here and Huntington, that he would have told you anything about the scheme for an insurrection in the State, comprehending a forcible seizure of the State government? Not a syllable would have escaped his lips to you or to anybody else whom he did not know fully committed to the military purposes of the organization. If a man is contemplating such a crime, whom does he tell of meetings held in pursuance of it, of the plans for its execution? Only those already committed,

like himself, to the bloody work. His lips are sealed to all others. Wherefore, saying there was not another particle of evidence in this case from first to last, the meeting that Harrison had with Milligan is conclusive that Milligan was a Major-General in the order, and that Dodd sent Harrison to him as such, and that he understood the meeting to which he was bid was in pursuance of the conspiracy.

And, further, Milligan did not deny having the interview with Harrison. He was asked if Harrison came to see him, and he admitted it. Nor did he deny that Harrison disclosed to him Dodd's contemplated projects—his resolution was not quite strong enough to face that. He had enough to do to explain how he managed to get around from Huntington to Dayton, Ohio, and home again without denial of the matters spoken of by the witnesses.

Now here is a purpose disclosed. Suppose him at that time an innocent man; suppose he had one instinct of patriotism yet unextinguished in his soul. When that communication was made to him, would he not have committed the messenger of the devilish project to the first Provost-Marshall accessible? Would he not have exposed the designs and had all who contemplated them arrested? I say if there had been a spark of patriotism left in his heart, the injury contemplated to the government of his State, to say nothing of the danger to his fellow-citizens, would have kindled it into righteous flame. Yet he heard it all without objection. Not only did he hear it without objection; he gave his promise to be here if he could and assist in the work at the time appointed. Let the counsel then come and argue that his client is innocent, that he is clear of this guilty conspiracy. Now, in the face of the fact that his client sat through two meetings of the Grand Council after his first and second election to the office of Major-General, let his counsel argue his innocence; to do it sincerely he must believe, and before you can be convinced of it you must believe, that nobody, not even his confidential friend Dodd, meeting him often as he did in the Grand

Council where these matters were discussed, ever disclosed to him the extraordinary honors put upon him by the order. Especially is it to be remembered that he addressed Dodd as *General* in a letter that has been read in evidence. Gentlemen, I say, in the light of these facts, the man who can believe Milligan, the plaintiff, was not a Major-General of the Sons of Liberty, is a born imbecile.

Next, but in the same line of argument, I call your attention to two other circumstances: one is his calling in the old soldier named Elder to inquire about what constituted the staff of a Major-General. That, you will remember, was in 1864, as that old soldier thought. It undoubtedly connected itself in his mind with the events of that year. The soldier says Milligan inquired about the staff of a Major-General, and that the inquiry stopped there. If I had to decide which of the two I would believe, Milligan or the soldier, I would take the soldier. In the first place, Milligan's testimony is impaired by his proved connection with this conspiracy. Then the guilt of the crime is infinitely worse than that of homicide, worse even than that of the man who invades your homes. He who could be a party to it is a villain of blacker hue than those whom the law from day to day is putting its hands upon in our criminal courts. Therefore, I say, if I had to choose between the two I would believe the soldier. He tells you the inquiry was limited to what constituted the staff of a Major-General; that not one word was said about the pay of a Major-General or the pay of his staff, but how many aids he had, how many Adjutant-Generals, Inspectors, Provost-Marshals. Mr. Milligan tells you the consultation with Elder was for the purpose of making a speech to the people and showing them how expensive the war was; therefore, he says he did not ask about the number of Major-Generals in the service nor about their pay. To me it looks that a gentleman aspiring to the candidacy of his party for the chief executive office in the State, as Milligan was, should have been able to find some more reliable source of information than a private from the

United States army. If his purpose had been what he says it was, he would have sought the army regulations and published documents of that character. But no; he wished, in secret, without making noise about it, to ascertain who should compose the staff of a Major-General, that, at the time this uprising was to occur, he might move forth with all the epauletted dignity of a Major-General of the Sons of Liberty, surrounded by a suitable staff.

My second reference is to some papers found at Huntington. Mr. Milligan gives a very innocent account of them, as he does of his trip to Dayton. Unfortunately for him, the papers he described do not agree with the papers found. A gentleman comes here and tells you that he went into Milligan's office in company with a law student of Milligan's, and that they there destroyed certain papers. This was soon after the arrest. The young man was familiar with the papers, and the fact of their destruction is conclusive that he knew they had something to do with the Sons of Liberty, otherwise he would not have put them into the fire. Remember that as a fact.

Remember that Wilson Smith and Mr. Dembo, the student, if that was his name, both thought the papers destroyed had connection with the Sons of Liberty. The rituals of the order were found there—rituals of an order that he swore he never belonged to, and the name of which, as you probably observed, I could not wring out of him, so true was he to its obligations. The papers Milligan described were not ruled like the papers Wilson Smith described. He says they had three columns of figures, while Smith says they had five. In one column was set down the Republican strength of the county, in another the Democratic strength, and in the next column were figures which Wilson Smith thought might be intended for majorities, but upon examination he found that they were not; for he tells you he knew the majorities in that section of the State, and they did not agree at all. He tells you also that there were but three columns of figures, while upon the papers Milligan

described to Mr. Hendricks there were two or more additional columns of "hypothecated majorities," as he calls them. If those papers had more than three columns of figures, they are not the papers found in his office after his arrest, and he has not explained that evidence away. Now, if you please, gentlemen, what were those papers found in his office and burned by his law student and Wilson Smith after his arrest, if not the field report of a Major-General's military command, the forces under him in the Order of the Knights of the Golden Circle? What part of the State did the papers embrace? The northeastern portion of the State of Indiana—a solid body of counties. Mr. Milligan tells you the papers he described covered the whole State; Wilson Smith says the papers he found did not cover the whole State, but the counties corresponded exactly with what, according to the evidence laid before you, constituted the military district of Major-General Milligan. So that I say it is not true, according to the weight of the evidence, that there were destroyed only innocent political documents prepared here at the session of the legislature with a view to legislative purposes. In the light of the interview with the old soldier and the information sought of him; in the light of the conduct of the student who, from his associations, was in likelihood himself a member of the order and familiar with the papers—I say he helped destroy them because they connected Milligan with the proposed traitorous military operations of Grand Commander Dodd.

We have then this evidence of the plaintiff's complicity with the designs of the treasonable organization; and the man who can, in view of the facts that Milligan was elected a Major-General in September, 1863, and re-elected in February, 1864, and that he afterwards attended two meetings of the order—the juror, I say, who can believe that Milligan never knew he was elected such Major-General, does not need evidence to aid him in the determination of any question; he believes without evidence—believes over evidence—believes in the teeth of all human conduct and experience.

We have, then, this conspiracy, embracing the most infamous designs. We have Milligan, a prince in this Israel of treason and crime. Then, going further, he and his associates did acts in execution of their conspiracy. They communicated with the enemy in Missouri; they brought rebel officers into this city and set them down, in the habiliments of peaceful citizens, at the public tables of the hotels—the very men intended to be leaders and commanders of the rebel prisoners whose rescue was sought that they might be turned loose upon the people of the city. Still further, Milligan's associates rose in arms in resistance to the draft. In many of the counties of the State the enrolling officers were threatened and beaten. Such as came to enforce the draft and give notices to those upon whom the lot of service had fallen were put in jeopardy; some of them were murdered on the public roads of the country. Such was the condition of things, and these the overt acts of fellow-conspirators of this plaintiff in the State of Indiana.

Now, gentlemen, the next question: Did the order, as it appears in the evidence, put in peril the public peace in Indiana? If it did, then the military officer who failed to do his utmost to suppress it was a recreant to the cause of his country.

Mr. Hendricks will say that many of these troubles and dangers were either imaginary or greatly exaggerated, or invented by paid detectives of the government. Well, gentlemen, I will now show you that some gentlemen in Indianapolis were badly frightened about that time who were not paid detectives or in any too active sympathy with these defendants. My friend, Mr. Hendricks, was disposed to be a little satirical in regard to General Carrington, and to me it seemed a little disrespectful. We have all heard some scarred veterans speak sneeringly of the Home Guards, and of those whose business was in the office and the cabinet instead of the field, and we could hear them with patience; but until the distinguished Senator shall show some more conspicuous service done for his country than he has thus far rendered, it does not become him to put contempt on

the honest, useful and meritorious duties of General Carrington. They were useful and honorable, and I say today that high executive ability, earnest patriotism, resolution and firm purpose were oftentimes as well displayed in the cabinet, in the council, and in the organization of troops, as in the presence of the enemy. The great Bismarck of our American war, Secretary Stanton, in his office at Washington, without facing the enemy in the field for a single hour, was all the time doing gigantic good for his country; and when the history of the sorrowful time is written, and men's minds turn away a little from the smoke and conflict of the actual battle, the services of that man in council will be still more highly appreciated and honored. So I say for General Carrington, who, for a considerable portion of the war, here and in Ohio, discharged the duties of the commander of a district, organizing its forces, and helping keep down insurrection and treason in the State—I say his part was useful and honorable, and should not be held up to ridicule or contempt.

I was saying to you, gentlemen, that the Senator would no doubt picture to you General Carrington as greatly alarmed by the exaggerated stories. I now want to tell you of some men who, I hope, really loved their government at the bottom, but who certainly were not the detectives of General Carrington, nor much in the habit of speaking in its praise. From the record in the proceedings before the Military Commission I will show you what they thought of the reality of the peril that then threatened the State. I turn now to pages 101 and 102 of that record, to the story of Mr. Joseph J. Bingham, principal editor then and now of the leading Democratic organ at the capital of Indiana. I take it from his associations, and all we know of him, that he was not a man to be easily scared by threats and vague perils; a man who, to say the least, would not be apt to take unnecessary alarm. I might say the same of the Hon. M. C. Kerr; and who of our citizens is more composed, more quiet, less liable to fright, than our respected townsmen, Joseph E. McDonald, and Dr. Athon, then

Secretary of State? Were they liable to get scared and no danger present? If I can show you that they really believed they were living on a volcano; that war was ready at any moment to break forth; that the mine had been dug and the train laid, and that it only required a torch in the hand of some incendiary to lift us into destruction—if they believed all that, surely the officers of the government might be excused for thinking there was danger. Mr. Bingham tells us that Dodd communicated to him his plan for an uprising in the State, and asked him to call a meeting of the democracy for the 16th of August, in Indianapolis, that under cover of the meeting he might bring his allies of the South to the capital of the State unsuspected. He seems to have been appalled, as far as I can gather from his statement before the Commission, not so much by the horrid wickedness of the thing, as by what seemed to him the small chances of its success. He went to Mr. Joseph E. McDonald and told him what he had heard from Dodd, and after Mr. McDonald had listened to his story, they concluded to sleep over it, and think about it. They did not want to act hastily, and involve those who were their personal friends in peril by any premature revelation; but as Mr. Bingham came away from the office of McDonald he met Hon. M. C. Kerr on the street, who was bustling along much excited, and then a colloquy took place. Says Mr. Bingham, "Hallo, Kerr, what brought you here?" He says Mr. Kerr seemed very much excited. I repeat now that Michael C. Kerr is a man not readily alarmed. Is he not rather always looking out for perils to the people from the government? Was he not always apprehensive that the government would do something strong and decisive to quench the rebellion? Mr. Kerr said, "Do you know anything?" Said Mr. Bingham, "Do you know anything?" "Yes, I do." "What is it?" said he. "The devil is to pay in our section of the State." The devil would have been to pay, too, if this thing had progressed a little further. Mr. Kerr told him the people of Washington, Harrison, and Floyd counties, and all that section, were under impression that

a revolution was impending. How did they get the impression? Who had told them of it? General Carrington? Have you doubt as to how it came? "He (Kerr) told me," continues Bingham, "that the farmers down there were frightened, and that they were selling their hay in the field, and their wheat in the stack, and that property of every kind was being converted into green-backs." That was the statement of a member of Congress from the New Albany district—a man not much alarmed, at least, when he heard of rebel successes in the South. Be it said that it is part of the public history of this State, that there were men in it to declare openly in public conventions, that the news of Union victories brought them no joy, and the news of a Union defeat no sorrow. But this interview with Mr. Kerr goes further. Mr. Bingham took Mr. Kerr to Mr. McDonald, and had him tell the same story. Calling the latter gentleman out of bed at night, as I understand the account, Mr. Bingham says, "We got him up," meaning Mr. McDonald, "and I said to him, Kerr has got some important information, and I want him to tell you the story just as he has told it to me." Then and there it was concluded that the thing must be stopped, and they called a meeting of leading Democrats at Mr. McDonald's office, at which Dodd and Walker were present, and Kerr made a speech. It is to be added now that Mr. Heffren testifies that Michael C. Kerr was a member of the order; and perhaps it was as true of him as it is of many other men, that, contemplating danger afar off, he felt brave to meet it. They determined at that meeting that the matter should be stopped, and all the influence of those gentlemen, Mr. McDonald, Mr. Kerr, and others named as having been present, was brought to bear, according to Mr. Bingham's statement, to induce an abandonment of the revolution. That is to say, it required the combined influence of those Democratic leaders to compel Dodd, Milligan, Walker and Bowles to give up the proposed insurrection. These men who seemed for a time hovering around the outskirts of the order, now that they stood on the brink of the gulf of death, desolation, and

revolution, drew back in terror. Was there peril? Were not General Hovey and General Carrington authorized to believe that there was peril to the State? If McDonald and Kerr believed the danger imminent, what should the military commander do who is no half-way friend of his government? What should he do? Allow considerations of personal liberty to stand in the way of action? Gentlemen, if General Hovey had failed to lay the strong hand of military power upon the traitors he would have been recreant to his oath. When advised of such schemes our officials are not to await their full development. The nation, as the individual, through its officers, has the right to strike before it is struck. It is a right given from God. If a man is threatening my life, his hand lifted with the dagger to strike me to the heart, I am not to wait until the blow is delivered. The law acquits me if I strike him dead at my feet. How much more shall these defendants stand acquitted before the courts and their fellow-men, who, seeing the deadliness of the peril, struck the treason before it could strike the nation?

I think I have shown you now, not merely that there was peril, but that, from the information he had, General Hovey was justified in arresting Milligan, and bringing him to trial before the Military Commission. If the State had broken out in rebellion and insurrection, and your own homes been invaded by these ruthless men, your families outraged, insulted and slain, could you have ever forgiven the recreant commander of the department, who, apprised of the danger, failed to interpose his military power?

Senator Hendricks will have a great deal to say to you about the security which the Constitution guarantees to life, person and property. It is indeed a grand birth-right that our fathers have given us; but, gentlemen, it was a legacy handed down to the loyal and the law-abiding. The law covers with its broad and impenetrable shield the true-hearted citizen, not the traitor and the law-breaker. Yet the gentleman comes to make appeals from a Constitution which his client would have destroyed, and in behalf of a liberty which would have

been exercised for the destruction of our government. He complains of a restraint which was in the interests of public peace. Listen to him then, give your full accord to all he may say of the right of the citizen to be secure in person and property, but remember—those guarantees are to the loyal and the law-abiding.

Much was said in the opening argument about military arrests. The Sons of Liberty were dreadfully moved when the government laid its hand upon Vallandigham, the Ohio traitor, who, by his pernicious teachings, held back from the army thousands of young men—that man, who alone was a greater impediment to our success in the war, a more formidable opposition, than the best brigade in the rebel army.

Gentlemen, were any of you troubled by the military? Were any of you arrested? Of course, in times of war, there are always instances of recklessness, and hardship, and sometimes there is much done by soldiery that men condemn. But why were none of you restrained of your liberties during the war? Simply because you made it known by your walk and conversation that you loved your country, and that your heart beat responsive to the music of the Union. This brought you in full sympathy with the army of the Union and its commanders, and as you helped them they helped you. On the other hand, who were they that felt the strength of military power? Only those men who went forth in acts of hostility to the Union. It was a common thing for the rebels to clothe themselves in the garb of our soldiers, the better to destroy them with perfidious fire. Just so this man wraps the provision of the Constitution around him that he may steal forth in due time to his work of death. We never can be proud enough of the security we enjoy, but let us never forget that it was not made and given to us for the protection of the traitors.

I submit to you then, gentlemen, whether the arrest of the plaintiff was not justifiable. I submit to you whether General Hovey would not have been untrue to himself, to the duties of the hour, and to his country, untrue to you, for that matter, if he had done otherwise than he

did? I think you must find that the plaintiff's arrest was in the interest of public peace; that Milligan brought his troubles upon himself by his crimes against the law. The arrest of these conspirators was the promptest and best step that could have been taken for the suppression of the conspiracy. There were thousands of men brought into the vestibule of the order, and, inflamed by speeches, kept ready to rush together and make common cause when the time for action should come. Oh, the horrid guilt of the leaders who taught these political heresies, and corrupted the young men of the country by such sentiments!

Gentlemen of the Jury: If his Honor says to you that this question of the existence of war in the State is one for you, I ask you to take the definition of war given by Mr. Hendricks, and tell me on oath whether, in the summer of 1864, there was not a conflict of organized forces in the State of Indiana—whether General Hovey, with home forces, and the few veterans who were at home, were not arrayed upon the one hand, and if upon the other, Bowles and Milligan and Horsey, with their secret legions of armed traitors, were not organized into an army, within the State, for the destruction of our government. There was not more truly a state of war in Charleston harbor before the gun was fired that hurled the first shot against Sumter, than existed in the State of Indiana at the time of which I have been speaking.

Gentlemen of the Jury: Mr. Hendricks has complained that we have been trying to inflame your minds. I submit to you and him, if he will judge it candidly, whether the inflammation, if there has been any in the case, has not had its origin in the facts themselves, rather than in appeals of counsel. If you have felt your hearts kindled with an honest indignation, what did it except the simple narration of the facts? Would my friend have a citizen of Indiana sit by and hear stolidly this story of dark plottings against the public peace? Who can hear with-

out wrath of the destruction of our property, to be brought about by turning armed rebels loose in our midst? Does the Senator think that men can hear such facts and not be "inflamed?" I pity the heart, I pity the man that can listen to such stories of wrong, conspiracy, and treason, and not find his heart all aglow with honest indignation.

It is true that our courts are set apart from mere political excitement, but not apart from patriotism. It is true that our judges when they put on the white robes of their high office, leave the spotted robes of partisanship behind; but it is not true, and God forbid that it should ever become true, that the judges of this land should put off their loyalty. Who ought to love our Constitution and laws with heart's full allegiance, if not the judges, whose special study they are?

I cannot talk much longer; and I ought not to. The defendants whom I represent claim to have acted throughout this transaction for the public welfare, and in perfect good faith. General Hovey, when he issued the order for the plaintiff's arrest, felt that he could no more stay his hand than he could, with honor, have held back against an order to charge upon the foe. He could not have felt more recreant to the duties of his office if he had turned his back and fled when his comrades charged the enemy.

And what less shall be said of the gentlemen who composed the commission that tried the plaintiff? One of them, now the Marshal of this District, maimed for life, drags himself about disfigured by the loss of a left arm. Yonder, on the bloody sides of Kenesaw, he gave an arm, almost a life, for the country which he, and these his comrades, loved so well. While he lay upon the field, bleeding, almost dying, here in Grand Council in the State of Indiana Milligan and his associates were plotting treason; and now they seek to rob him of the little savings from the office which a grateful country, and a President who honors his valor, have conferred upon him, in order to enrich traitors.

Gentlemen, I feel sure that it wil' not be so. On the

morrow when the booming gun shall salute the rising sun, and tripping maidens come to hang floral offerings upon the head-stones of our dead, may your returning feet vindicate the living.

Speech in Robert S. Robertson vs. The State, on relation of Alonzo G. Smith. In the Supreme Court of Indiana.

The foregoing is the formal title of the suit in the course of which the second argument submitted to the reader was made by General Harrison. More familiarly it is known as the "Lieutenant-Governor's Case," and the speech is selected because it is considered a fair expose of the speaker's capacity to deal with questions of constitutional law, admittedly the highest known to American and English judicature.

An explanation of the circumstances leading up to the case may be serviceable here, as in the presentation of the argument in *Milligan vs. Slack and others*.

General Harrison's term as United States Senator from Indiana would expire in 1888, making it the duty of the legislature of 1887 to elect his successor. In 1885 Mr. Voorhees had been chosen Senator by a joint Democratic majority of forty-six, but as that was not thought sufficient to certainly insure the defeat of General Harrison, a new legislative apportionment of the State was resolved upon by the Democrats. The gerrymander that followed may be judged from a statement of Mr. Voorhees to Senator Camden,

of West Virginia, to the effect, as reported, that he would feel personally disgraced if the Indiana legislature did not have a joint Democratic majority of at least sixty.

The first election under the gerrymander was a great surprise to all parties. The Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, Robert S. Robertson, was chosen by a majority of 3,323; while, following the returns, the joint convention for the election of United States Senator would stand 71 Republican, 75 Democratic, and 4 Labor votes.

This unexpected turn of events drove the Democratic managers to new resorts. When their scheme was finally evolved, it was of first importance that Mr. Robertson should not be permitted to preside over the deliberations of the Senate, the constitution of the State to the contrary notwithstanding. In furtherance of the scheme, Mahlon D. Manson, Lieutenant-Governor at the time of the election, and entitled as such until his successor would qualify, which could only take place after the election returns were counted by the legislature in joint convention, was induced to resign and accept a revenue collectorship. This vacation of Manson's office would, it was contended, throw the presidency of the Senate into the hands of Alonzo G. Smith, Senator from Jennings county, who happened at the time of the dissolution of the preceding legislature to have

been president *pro tem.* To make the claim plausible as well as effective, the Democratic conspirators determined to go the full length of seating Mr. Smith as Lieutenant-Governor, and bearing him through. The control of the Senate thus secured would enable the Democrats to hold the Senatorial succession in secure grip, provided Mr. Smith proved himself equal to the occasion.

Looking the ground over in anticipation, it was foreseen that the battle might have to be fought in the Senate chamber or in the State courts, or in both at the same time. If it took the shape of a legal controversy, the revolutionists felt safe —the Supreme Court was largely Democratic; if confined to the Senate chambers, Mr. Smith could be relied upon to take care of himself; should there be resort to force, the Democratic Governor (Gray) would exercise his prerogatives as commander-in-chief of the militia.

Fortunately there was no call to arms.

How Mr. Smith, upon seizing the chair, took care of himself may be inferred from the following sample of the proceedings in the first day of the session :

Senator Smith, of Jennings, at ten o'clock said: The Senate of the Fifty-fifth General Assembly will now come to order. Senators and Senators-elect will take their seats. The Senators are requested to keep order.

Mr. Winter—I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The Chair—There is nothing that can be brought before this body. It is not organized. Your point of order cannot be received or determined. [Using the gavel.]

Mr. Winter—My point of order is that we should proceed with the organization of the Senate according to law.

The Chair—Your point of order is out of order.
[Hammering with the gavel nervously.]

Mr. Winter—I appeal from the decision of the chair.

The Chair—Your appeal is out of order, and will not be entertained. [Pounding away on the desk with the gavel.]

Mr. Johnson—I second the motion for an appeal, and desire to give notice that I will file a protest with the Senator from Marion [Mr. Winter].

Mr. Winter—Then I rise to a question of privilege.

The Chair—Your question of privilege is out of order.
[Using the gavel.]

Mr. Winter—To raise a question of privilege is a right possessed by every Senator upon the floor.

The Chair—When an organization is perfected perhaps you are right.

Mr. Winter—As a Senator on the floor of this Senate, possessed of privileges guaranteed by the Constitution of the State, I protest against the act of the person assuming to act as President *pro tem.* of the Senate as a thing improper, uncalled for, and without the expressed will of the Senate. [The Chair continued to pound the desk with the gavel.] I shall reduce my protest to writing.

The Chair [hammering with the gavel]—Take your seat.

Mr. Johnson addressed the Chair.

The Chair—I don't recognize you, sir. The first thing in order is a prayer by Bishop Knickerbocker.

Mr. Winter—I protest against your discharging the duties of the Lieutenant-Governor in the organization of this Senate.

The Chair [hammering away]—The Senate will rise while we have prayer.

Mr. Winter—I appeal to the Senate as against this person who is assuming the duties of a Lieutenant-Governor.

The Chair [still using the gavel]—Order while prayer is being offered.

Mr. Winter continued speaking after the Bishop had commenced his prayer. When the prayer was finished the Chair said: "The Auditor of State will call the roll of Senators holding over. Mr. Rice, call the roll." This was done, and then the Chair said: "The Auditor of State will now call the roll of Senators-elect." Auditor Rice proceeded with the call, but when he called the county of Wayne Mr. Johnson said: "Recognizing the Auditor of State as such—" [Here his voice was drowned by the gavel.]

The Chair—The Auditor will call thirteen of the Senators-elect as their names appear upon the roll, and they will present themselves at the bar of the Senate and be sworn in by a judge of the Supreme Court.

These, with the remaining Senators-elect, were sworn in.

Mr. Winter—I rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman. My point of order now goes to the organization of the Senate.

The Chair—The Senator is out of order for two reasons—he addresses the President of the Senate as "Mr. Chairman," and this Senate cannot entertain a point of order until its organization is perfected.

Mr. Winter—I desire to state my point of order.

The Chair—You may state it, sir.

Mr. Winter—My point of order is that there are present but twenty-four members of the last Senate. The organization of this Senate is now in control of this Senate itself, and I move that the Senate proceed to the election of a President *pro tempore*—the Lieutenant-Governor not being in attendance.

The Chair—Your point of order and your resolution are out of order.

Mr. Winter—I appeal to the judgment of the Senate.

The Chair—Your appeal is out of order. You will take your seat.

Mr. Winter—I desire to rise to a question of privilege.

was thus joined between Robertson and Smith. The debate extended to the streets and hotels. The newspapers loaded their columns with red-hot matter, and on both sides there was talk of violence. In this extremity Smith again appealed to law. A *quo warranto* proceeding was begun by him (*State ex rel. Alonzo G. Smith*) on the 12th of January, in the Marion Circuit Court, to settle the title to the office; in other words, to have the court declare which was Lieutenant-Governor, Alonzo G. Smith, President *pro tem.* of the Senate, or Robert S. Robertson, claiming by virtue of a decisive majority of the voters of the State.

Judge Ayer held that the suit was properly brought, and also that the question was determinable by the courts. Thereupon he issued an injunction forbidding Robertson from attempting to preside over the Senate or in any manner exercising the functions of Lieutenant-Governor. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, and heard there with oral argument. Mr. W. H. H. Miller opened in behalf of Robertson, followed by Hon. Jason Brown for Smith; then Mr. Michener, Attorney-General of the State, replied to Brown. Mr. Turpie made the closing speech for Smith, and General Harrison answered him.

It is proper to remark that General Harrison had given the case no attention until the evening before argument was begun; that evening he ran

over the briefs and was ready to speak in the morning.

The Supreme Court, consisting of five judges, four Democrats and one Republican, agreed unanimously that the Marion Circuit Court had no jurisdiction of the person of Mr. Robertson; that the suit was improperly brought in that court; and that the injunction had no foundation in law. Three of the judges, Niblack, Zollars and Elliot, being a majority, held further that the judiciary had no power to determine the questions involved in the proceeding; but that they belonged to the political department alone. The case was therefore reversed and dismissed. Nevertheless Smith maintained his usurpation to the last, and as a result David Turpie was ultimately elected to succeed General Harrison as United States Senator from Indiana.

THE ARGUMENT BY GENERAL HARRISON.

May it please your Honors—The case at bar is, in some of its aspects, one of unusual significance. It takes us away from the consideration of those rules which apply to ordinary contracts between individuals to a study of the philosophy of government. It has other aspects which are quite familiar, which present questions not more difficult and not different from those which this court is in the habit of dealing with in cases involving the most petty amounts of property.

I take it that logically, in the consideration of every case, before a self-respecting tribunal, the question of jurisdiction is first. Whether that question relates to the jurisdiction over the individual who is brought by summons before the court, or to the subject-matter in-

volved, it is a threshold question. It is usurpation for this court, or any court, to give judgment in any case where it has not jurisdiction of the person and of the subject-matter.

I am aware that in certain quarters there has been a degree of restiveness and even an indulgence in brutal criticism because these obvious considerations in a previous case had the recognition of this court, and the court could not be driven over a threshold which was barred against it by the Constitution and the law.

It is an insulting proposition to any court that it shall, for the convenience of any man or any combination of men, enter into the investigation of questions which the law and the Constitution do not submit to its judgment.

We have here, as I have already indicated, first, a question of jurisdiction over the person of the defendant, Robert S. Robertson. He is sued in Marion county, while the record shows that his residence is in Allen county. The first point is, can he be impleaded by any one in the form of action here adopted in any other county than that of his residence?

The learned counsel have had recourse to some suggestions as to what the common law of venue is, and the defense of this jurisdiction seems to rest upon views of the common law. Is venue a matter of the common law in the State of Indiana? Were the diligent counsel able to cite any decision of this court indicating that the common law might be resorted to in the decision of such a question? We have general provisions of our code intended to cover, and actually covering, all classes of actions, and indicating the legislative intention as to the forum in which such actions might be brought.

This action is called in argument quo warranto; our statute calls it "information." It is not called information in the nature of quo warranto, or quo warranto, but simply information. It does not relate exclusively to the case of an intrusion into an office, but embraces several other subjects; it embraces an intrusion into a franchise;

it embraces the case of a corporation assuming to act as such without authority of law; it embraces the case of an escheat of property; it embraces the case of a patent or deed, made by the State, and its annulment; all of these are embraced in the article of our code entitled information. There is nowhere in all of these subdivisions or subjects which may be brought to the attention of the court by information any expressed declaration of a venue. In the case of escheat, and in the case of an action to annul a conveyance or deed there is no suggestion of any: My recollection is that even the terms "in the Circuit Court of the proper county" are not used.

In connection with the subject of the intrusion into an office it is said "the action shall be brought in the Circuit Court of the proper county." The learned counsel say that establishes a venue without reference to any other statute. What is it in this case? They say "that county where the intrusion or the particular act of intrusion complained of occurred." Now, in order to maintain their position they must establish two propositions. First, that this is not a proceeding governed by the general provision of the code fixing the venue of civil actions; secondly, that this special statute itself establishes some venue.

The counsel say: "We do not controvert the proposition that this is a civil action." It seems to me when that admission is made the argument is abandoned, unless it can be shown that some other venue than that described in the section of the code relating to the general subject of venue and the commencement of actions is provided in this special proceeding.

I do not controvert the proposition that if in this article entitled "information" a particular venue was declared it would be controlling of the general statute. But I insist that it is not declared by the words "the Circuit Court of the proper county," because those words open the question, "What is the proper county?" How are we to determine it? "Oh," say these gentlemen, "upon the opinion of the particular court as to what

county in a given case is convenient. So we are remitted to the opinion of the judge as to what is convenient. Instead of being directed to a forum where the relator may know that there is jurisdiction, he must either himself decide the question of convenience or take in advance the opinion of the court. If your Honors please, in all these classes of special proceeding—replevin; attachment, ne exeat, mandate, habeas corpus—in every one of them, unless a venue is particularly described in the special proceeding, this court, whenever the question has been brought to its attention, has determined it by reference to the general statute upon the subject of venue.

The learned counsel said, this morning, there was no declaration of a venue in the article relating to habeas corpus, but that it was brought upon this principle of convenience in the county where the party was restrained of his liberty. It must have been an inadvertent statement, for the statute on the subject of habeas corpus expressly confers jurisdiction upon the courts of the county where the restraint takes place.

Now let me hastily run through some of these cases. They are all referred to, with one or two exceptions, in this brief which we will submit to the court. The first is a proceeding to disbar under the statute. The statute says that it may be had "in any court of record." And yet, when the subject came to be reviewed by this court it was held that these words must be construed with reference to the other statutes conferring jurisdiction, and that the Criminal Court, though a court of record, unquestionably did not have jurisdiction of this special proceeding.

The next special proceeding in which such a question arose was under the drainage act, a special proceeding in a very strict sense. And in that case the statute provided that the action should be brought "in any court of competent jurisdiction." Are not these words wider than the terms "in the Circuit Court of the proper county?" Do not the last terms contain within themselves the suggestion of a reference to some other statute

fixing the venue of actions? But here it was said: "May be brought in any court of competent jurisdiction," and yet, his Honor, Judge Zollars, construing those words, held that the action must be brought with reference to the general provisions as to venue in actions relating to real property.

Again, there is no special provision in the article entitled "mandate" as to venue; and we have a case in which this argument, drawn from a supposed convenience, was disposed of by this court. If the argument of convenience, which Judge Turpie so much pressed, has any force, has it not equal, if not greater, force in the case of mandate, where the act—the official act—which the party declines to do, must be done in a particular locality? He says convenience must control where an official act has been done that amounts to intrusion into an office, and the court is asked to restrain it; but, in case of the refusal to do a particular official act which must be done in a given locality, would not the argument be stronger that, as the act was to be done in a particular county, the action would lie in the courts of that county? And yet, if your Honors please, we have a case in which, notwithstanding the argument of convenience, this court has remitted the party to the courts of the county where the defendant resided.

The case of *The State vs. The Whitewater Canal Company*, in 8th Indiana, is the case I refer to. It was a mandate to compel the rebuilding of a bridge in Dearborn county. The refusal to discharge the official duty was there. And yet this court held, notwithstanding it might be convenient that the courts of Dearborn county should supervise the execution of this corporate duty, that the action must be brought in the county where the corporation had its office. The court say:

"It is assumed that this action is local in its nature and must be brought in the county where the duty sought to be enforced is to be performed."

Precisely as the gentlemen say here, it must be brought in the county where the intrusion into the office has occurred, and yet the court said the code points out and

defines the subject-matter of the actions which must be instituted in the county in which the subject of the action or some part thereof is situated, but the case at bar is not within the definition, and, therefore, it was held that there was no jurisdiction in Dearborn county.

Let us take the action of replevin, another special proceeding. In the case of *Hodson vs. Warner*, in 60th Indiana, Judge Worden, speaking for the court, says:

"It is claimed that an action of replevin is local, and must be brought in the county where the property is detained, and that unless the complaint shows the detention to have been in the county where the action is brought, the court will have no jurisdiction of the subject thereof."

Here, again, the argument of convenience might be made. The property is here detained. It will be convenient if the venue and determination of the case is here. But the court say:

"Authorities are cited to show that, at common law, the action of replevin was local."

Just the suggestion we had from the learned gentleman this morning.

"But this is a matter which is regulated by our statute. The statute provides"—and this statute referred to is the general statute on the subject of venue, not any special statute in this special proceeding—"the statute provides that certain actions shall be brought in the county where the subject thereof is situate or where the cause thereof arose, but the action of replevin is not mentioned or thus localized."

Then it is provided in Section 33 that "in all other cases the action shall be commenced in the county where the defendants, or one of them, has his usual place of residence."

So it was then held, notwithstanding the reference to the common-law rule as to venue in replevin, notwithstanding the suggestion as to the convenience in such case, that replevin, special proceeding as it is, is governed by the general statute upon the subject of venue.

So, again, with proceedings in bastardy, in the case of *Haley vs. The State*, 69th Indiana. Section 968 provides that such a proceeding may be commenced before "any justice of the peace" without any limitation as to the county or township in which it is brought. Yet it is held in this case, Judge Niblack delivering the opinion—

"Such proceedings being transitory in their character under the code must be commenced in the county in which the defendant resides when he is a resident of the State."

The argument of convenience might well be used here. It may be that the mother resides here. It may be that the putative father may not be found if there is any delay. All of these suggestions as to convenience apply strongly. But the court has not left the venue of these actions to the whim of the judge, but, notwithstanding the inconvenience that may attach, has settled upon general principles regulating them. .

Attachment and garnishment I might refer to as other special proceedings, although they may be said to be in some sense ancillary to another action, and venue may be determined by that fact; and yet in such cases the court say the general rule in relation to personal actions is declared by Sec. 312 of the Code. In this section as amended it is provided:

"In all other cases the action shall be commenced in the county where the defendants, or one of them, has his usual place of residence."

It was held that the Wabash Circuit Court had no jurisdiction of a proceeding in garnishment.

Now, if your Honors please, I want to call attention to the case of *The State vs. The Board*, in 49th Indiana. This was a case where a statute was passed providing that a certain action to be brought by the Auditor of the State for the failure to properly assess or collect certain taxes might be brought, as the statute said, "in any court in this State." A State officer was to be the plaintiff or relator, and the statute said he might bring the action "in any court of this State." And yet this court, construing those terms, apply those general principles as

to venue of which I have been speaking. They say it could not have been intended by the Legislature that this action brought by Wildman, as auditor, against the Commissioners of Vanderburg county, could be brought in Marion county. Again they go back and take hold of these general provisions of our code as to venue, and they diminish the force of the legislative expression so as to bring it within the control of these general provisions. The court say :

" By the sections of the statute above set out the action therein provided for may be brought in any court of this State. If this language is to receive a literal interpretation it would lead to results that we think were not contemplated by the Legislature."

And then they go on and say that it must be controlled by the general provision as to venue, and hold that the action against the commissioners of Vanderburg county, notwithstanding the statute, must be brought in the county of Vanderburg.

There is another case, if your Honors please, to which I wish to call your attention to show you how strong the tendency and drift in this court has been to subordinate all of these special proceedings to the general rules of practice defined by our code. It is a case in 105 Indiana. This was a divorce case and the question was, if I recollect, whether a change of venue might be allowed. Your honors can see how radical the question is, whether this special proceeding of divorce, a proceeding under the English law in the ecclesiastical courts, is to be treated under our code as a civil action, and the provisions of the code as to changes of venue made applicable. The opinion was by Judge Zollars, and I believe the case cited in the opinion was also decided by the same learned judge. I read a paragraph or two.

" In the recent case of *Powell vs. Powell*, 104 Indiana, 18, after a careful examination of the question, it was held that where the procedure is prescribed in the divorce act, that should be pursued and not the civil code; that so far as a procedure is provided in that act, it may be called a special proceeding, and that where it is apparent

that the Legislature intended that certain sections of the civil code should not apply in divorce cases they will not be applied."

Notice the language! "Where it is apparent!" And I ask your Honors to apply it, and tell me what there is in this article establishing the special proceeding by information that makes it apparent that the Legislature intended that those sections of the code relating to venue should not apply.

"It was further held that under the code divorce cases are, in some sense at least, 'civil actions,' and that the rules of pleading and practice provided in the civil code will apply to them, except to the extent that a different procedure may be provided in the divorce act, and to the extent that it may be apparent that the Legislature intended otherwise."

This indicates the drift of the court, as well as the other cases, to bring these special proceedings, so far as may be done without violence to the special statute, under the control of the general statute regulating the practice in our courts.

"As a result of these holdings, it was further held that the above section of the civil code providing for a change from the judge is applicable to divorce cases, and that, upon the filing of the proper affidavit under that section in any case, the change must be granted. We can see no reason why the reasoning and conclusions in that case are not applicable and controlling here. Changes of venue are provided for in order that parties litigant may have fair and impartial trials, and hence the provision for a change from an interested or biased judge, and hence also the provision for a change of venue from the county where one of the parties may have an undue influence over the citizens, or where an odium may attach to one of the parties, or to his cause of action or defense on account of local prejudice."

Now I read again;

"The more rational conclusion would seem to be that the intention was that such cases should be tried in impartial tribunals, and that as no provision is made in the

divorce act for reaching such tribunals by a change of venue, when necessary, the intention was that resort might and should be had to the code of civil procedure. There is nothing in the divorce act to show or indicate an intention on the part of the Legislature that the above section of the code, providing for a change of venue from the county, should not be applicable to a proceeding for a divorce in a proper case, unless it be the fact that no such change is provided for in the act, and that the case must be commenced in the county where the plaintiff resides."

Now, if your Honors please, I use that case to show that in a proceeding in an especial sense special, regulated by a statute having no reference anywhere to these provisions of the code as to change of venue, the rule was established, applicable to all other such proceedings, that the provisions of the general code as to practice not inconsistent with the provision of the special statute should stand; and I venture to say that, without overriding the principles of that case, the conclusion cannot be avoided that in the case of quo warranto or information the general provisions of our statute as to venue must apply. Indeed, in the use of the words "The Circuit Court of the proper county," as I have already said, there is a suggestion of reference to another statute to determine what is the proper county; the Legislature did not need to repeat what had been elsewhere enacted, but adopted it by these words of reference.

If your Honors please, it is not in a strict sense an information that you have before you. It is an injunction case. To be sure, that is ancillary to a proceeding by information, but the appeal is from an order granting an injunction. Is there any doubt, may it please your Honors, that in the case of an injunction the venue is in the county of the defendant's residence? Can there be any doubt about that?

It seems, then, that in their own judgment this article entitled "Information" was not so special, not so complete in itself as prescribing a new and exclusive remedy and all its attendants and circumstances, but that they

might go out and incorporate with it an action of injunction, where the venue, as I have already said, is admittedly and confessedly controlled by the general statutes.

The court has been compelled to adopt this construction in dealing with these special statutes. There was no provision for trial by jury in the quo warranto act. If the courts are to treat it as complete, as dealing with the subject fully, and are not to look to other statutes as incorporated; if they are not to treat it as a civil action and give to the trial of such cases all those incidents, privileges and limitations that belong to civil actions, then there is no trial by jury; and yet the court, in a case referred to, decided that a trial by jury was allowable because it was a civil action, and the trial by jury in civil actions is guaranteed by the constitution. Here we have, then, a civil action, special if you choose to call it, without any definition as to what the venue shall be, and we have a general statute regulating civil actions, declaring, as is admitted, that in a case like this the venue is in Allen county. So I say, your Honors, this is the threshold question. You must step over it or trample it under foot before you can invade the consideration of questions that lie further along in this case. And again, I repeat, whatever source it comes from, whatever needs it is supposed to subserve, it is brutally insulting to say to the Supreme Court of Indiana that they should consider questions and decide the rights of a man over whose person they have no jurisdiction; to say that because he is called here in this information a usurper into an office this high court must usurp functions which have been denied it by the law, in order to cure one usurpation by another.

But, if your Honors please, if it were established that you had acquired jurisdiction over the respondent here, there is still another threshold question to be considered, and that relates to your jurisdiction of the subject-matter of the case. Both these conditions must exist, or any opinion you may deliver upon the questions involved other than these is *obiter*, is intrusive, is, so far as they may fortify any man in a course of action which he has

entered upon, making this high court subservient to uses that were not contemplated by law. What are the jurisdictional questions as to the subject-matter that are presented? I think there are two, if your Honors please, as this case now presents itself. First, have the courts of this State the power, under the Constitution, to try the title to the office of Lieutenant-Governor? Secondly, if that be conceded, have they power, by injunction, to invade the legislative halls, and restrain a co-ordinate department of this government from the exercise of its will and pleasure? Because, if your Honors please, I think this action, in that aspect of it—this injunction restraining Colonel Robertson from presiding over the Senate of Indiana—not at the solicitation of the Senate, not because the Senate has expressed to your Honors any such wish, not because they have appealed to you for protection, but at the suggestion of a man, an individual, that you should issue your writ of injunction and say to the Senate of Indiana—for it is so said whenever you say that Colonel Robertson shall not preside as Lieutenant-Governor—you shall not allow the respondent to preside, you restrain the discretion of the Senate itself. Whenever you say, as this writ says for you—and I must criticise it in respectful terms, much as I resent the idea that any court in the United States can intrude into the legislative halls anywhere in these States, or in our general government, constituted on one model of three co-ordinate departments of government—that a court can intrude into a legislative hall, and declare to the body that a particular person shall not preside over its deliberations, then the effect is most certainly restrictive. But I should discuss these questions in the order in which I have suggested them. Is there jurisdiction in the courts of Indiana to try the title to the office of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor? I say Governor or Lieutenant-Governor because, may it please your Honors, if you have the jurisdiction to try the title to this office claimed by Colonel Robertson, you have the jurisdiction to try the title of Isaac P. Gray as Governor of Indiana. Why do I deny this jurisdiction? Because, if your

Honors please, there is a limit to your jurisdiction. It does not embrace every subject or every person. It is limited in both directions. The Constitution of Indiana provides that the judicial power shall be vested in a Supreme Court, and circuit courts, and other subordinate courts or other courts. I believe the word "subordinate" has been stricken out by the amendment. But if I find in the same Constitution an express grant of judicial power in a given case to another tribunal over a particular question, how are these two grants to be construed? Is not the general grant to be construed as if it had been made explicitly and in the same section subject to the exception which is found elsewhere in the Constitution?

I do not hesitate to declare that without reference to this provision in our Constitution to which I shall presently call attention, if it rested upon the general declaration establishing three co-ordinate, co-equal, and co-sovereign departments of this government, the Supreme Court of Indiana, without a special grant of power in the Constitution, could not determine the question in the case of a contest as to who was or who was not the Governor of Indiana. And why, if your Honors please? The very idea of co-ordination, the very essence and principle of sovereignty, is gone whenever this court may say a man is or is not Governor of Indiana, and he shall be enjoined from exercising executive functions. Oh, but say the learned counsel, the court doesn't act on the executive department; it acts on the person. Wise distinction! Worthy of that subtle refinement of intellect for which my friend Judge Turpie is so conspicuous. To be sure it matters little if this court act upon Isaac P. Gray as an individual, and expels him from the office of Governor; the result is the same precisely as if they had acted upon the executive department. They have created a vacancy, or, at their own sweet will, have installed another in his place. If your Honors please, that tribunal anywhere that can expel the chief executive and put another in his place dominates the executive department. I suppose my friend would say that if I should seize upon some one of the judges who are so kindly attending to what I am

saying, and pitch him out of the window, that I would be dealing with the person simply, not with the court, and yet the distinction would be one that I think neither the judge that went out of the window nor the four that remained here would appreciate.

No, sir, the doctrine that the courts—and, if your Honors please, it is not simply this august tribunal, but the Marion Circuit Court or the Posey Circuit Court—may expel or install the chief executive of Indiana is not to be admitted.

Now there is, I think, a misconception, and I thought that in some of the questions propounded by the judges this misconception was very apparent. We are so much in the habit of thinking and saying that the courts are to settle all disputes of every sort, and this court is so much in the habit of regarding itself as the Supreme Appellate Court of the State of Indiana, having jurisdiction of all questions, that you have not considered the questions which are seldom presented to us, as to the limits of your power. And so, popularly, we say, whenever any question arises, "Take it to the Supreme Court. Let us have their opinion about it." The courts themselves, I may say, without any disrespect, have come to regard their functions to be that of the mother hen—to cover everything that is in alarm or dispute.

No one rejoices more than I, if your Honors please, that those questions of personal right, which were once left to the arbitrament of force, may be now confided to the peaceful adjudication of courts. But it is quite another question whether the Supreme Court of this State, or of the United States, can make and unmake the chief executive.

It was suggested, in case a usurper entered into the office of Governor Gray, and expelled him and got possession of the great seal, whether this court could not turn that usurper out. Why, if your Honors please, the Constitution of Indiana has not left the chief executive to that ready and willing, and, I have no doubt, wise help which you would render him by sending your sheriff to his rescue. It has constituted him a co-ordinate, self-contained, self-defended branch of the government of the

State of Indiana. It has put at his disposal the army and the navy of the State. He does not need to appeal, in the defense of his prerogative, when, by the formalities of the Constitution, he has been inducted into the office, to the sheriff of any court. So your sheriff is for your protection. He has a right to call upon the body of the community to preserve your dignity, to repress intrusion, and to punish contempts. But the executive—and may I not suggest the Legislature of this State—is clothed in its own right with ample powers of self-protection. I do not think that the Legislature, or either branch of it, could allow any executive or administrative officer of any court to intrude into its precincts with any writ. It has the power to hedge itself around, and to lay the duty upon the men who serve it to protect it.

So it is, if your Honors' please, that we are seldom—and it is well so—brought to confront these fundamental principles of government, and of the limitations of the power of the several departments which are involved here.

Justice Mitchell—In the event, General Harrison, that the Senate should undertake to repel the intrusion of Colonel Robertson and imprison him for contempt, would the court have no power to interfere?

Senator Harrison—Very clearly not, if your Honors please; no more than the Legislature would have the right to interfere if you should imprison him here for a contempt of your court; not a whit more.

Justice Mitchell—Have we not a recent eminent example where the Supreme Court of the United States took an individual out of the hands of Congress and imprisoned him?

Senator Harrison—Yes, sir, undoubtedly; undoubtedly, under a writ of habeas corpus, you might consider whether the man was lawfully restrained. That I do not deny.

Justice Mitchell—Then we would have to inquire whether or not he would have the right to go there and offer to preside?

Senator Harrison—No, sir; not that at all. You

could not decide the question of his right to preside, or enforce such a judgment, but you might, perhaps, decide, as in that case, that the man must be discharged upon habeas corpus. That was a case of an examination before a committee of the body, and the decision was as to whether they might or might not imprison him for a refusal to answer certain questions. But let me ask your Honor a question, not, of course, for answer; and I desire to say it gives me great pleasure at any time to have any suggestion from any member of the court if there is any point that I am discussing upon which, in the opinion of the court, any judge would desire to have me express myself more fully.

Justice Mitchell—I only wanted to draw out your idea, because I feel the force of your suggestions. If they were of no consequence, I would not have asked the question.

Senator Harrison—I cannot believe that this court can send into the Senate of Indiana any writ. I do not say there might not questions arise as to the Governor, collateral in some actions, that this court may pass upon; but what I do hold is that, when conformable to the constitution, the Legislature—the political department of this government—have recognized a man as President or Governor, the court may not inquire whether he is such or not.

Justice Zollars—Allow me to put a question. I believe it was put the other day, and answered that it was not a supposable case. But now, suppose the Legislature should count the votes for a man and declare him to be Governor at this time, and there came a conflict between him and the incumbent, is there any remedy for that conflict through the courts at all?

Senator Harrison—None whatever, if your Honors please. . That is very apparent. Into such condition as that the courts cannot enter. You may try questions of assault and battery or of treason growing out of the conflict, but not the title of the claimants to the office.

Justice Zollars—That is your idea?

Senator Harrison—That is my idea. If the courts

could control matters of that kind we would have had no rebellion. I do not say that there may not be cases where your Honors could punish an individual, where you could try and condemn and execute him for treason. Certainly, there might be such cases. But I do hold this: that where the Legislature has, according to the forms of the Constitution, canvassed the vote for Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, and has declared a person to be Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, and has recognized him as such, then this court cannot dispossess him of his office.

Justice Mitchell—Now, right there. Of course, we may not be able to dispossess him, but can the court pronounce upon the legal question involved? Is not the question of the right to an office a judicial question? That is an idea that I wish to have elaborated.

Senator Harrison—if your Honors please, as I was saying, it seems to me that the constitution of these three departments of itself, without anything else—although I will show your Honors there is much else—necessarily prohibits that. Has any one ever questioned that the Supreme Court of the United States could not have passed upon whether Hayes or Tilden was elected President? Did any good lawyer suggest that it might?

Justice Zollars—That was another question. In that case there was no question about there having been an election at the proper time.

Senator Harrison—Ah, if your Honor pleases, that is too fine a discrimination. When they were or were not elected does not test the limits of the power of a court. The test is, may they approach the question at all directly? If they may approach it at all in such a case, then they may decide it upon the question that the time for a proper election had not arrived, or that one man may get more votes than another. The Constitution of the United States simply provides that the returns from the electoral colleges shall be opened by the Vice-President in the presence of the two houses, and they shall be counted. That is all. And yet it was agreed, in the

face of the great exigency that we confronted then, an exigency that seemed likely at one time to involve bloodshed, that, great as the courts were, wise and ample as are the powers confided to them, there was no relief in the courts of the United States. It was a political question. It might involve war, but the courts could not solve the trouble.

Justice Zollars—That is not the question that is troubling Judge Mitchell and myself, as indicated by our questions. The difficulty, in my mind, is back of all that. Nobody has ever contended that the court might have power to settle the question as to who was elected, but back of that is the constitutional question, the legal question, as to whether or not there may be an election. That is the question that I wish to hear discussed now. Whether the decision of that question is exclusively with the Legislature.

Senator Harrison—In the very nature of things it must be so, or else their power over the subject is limited. I take it, if your Honors please, that the counsel have quibbled with the provision of our Constitution, which re-enforces this general idea I have been advocating, that it does not matter one whit whether somebody raises the question whether the election was to take place at a particular time; if the decision of the political question as to who is Governor, and when he became Governor, rests with the Legislature, then no phase of it is reserved to the courts for determination. If your Honors please, the reason for all this is very obvious. The Constitution and the law were very careful to place the court where it might never become the subject of ridicule; very careful never to confide to it powers that it could not execute. There are certain questions of this kind upon which the judgment of courts must be futile. In the very nature of things the Legislature stands so related to this question that it was wisely, by our Constitution, invested with the decision of the whole matter, and not a fragment of it.

I have said that the Constitution makes a special grant of power over this subject to the Legislature—

"Contested elections for Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall be determined by the General Assembly in such manner as may be prescribed by law."

Now, if your Honors please, I want to say a word about the manner in which this court ought to approach the construction and consideration of that article of the Constitution, and of the others to which I shall allude presently. My learned friend says the Constitution is to be strictly construed because it is a grant of power from the people. But the question here is not one of limiting a power; it is a question whether this court will assume it or leave it where the Constitution has placed it. It is not a question of the excess, or extent, or enlargement of this section at all. It is a question whether the court shall pass upon this section so specific in character, and assume to have jurisdiction under the general clause of the Constitution apportioning the judicial power to the courts. Is there any doubt about what the construction ought to be? When the framers of the Constitution have dealt with the particular question, and said that its decision should be confided to one tribunal, shall the general grant of judicial power be strained to embrace some part of it? Upon this question of the right to elect a Lieutenant-Governor, and I may as well refer to it now, the same principle should be applied. The Constitution is to be strictly construed against the right of the people that made it to elect their own officers! That is the argument of my friend. If there is a strict construction to be applied, it should be in the interest of the people, that something may not be taken to have been granted that the people did not intend to give. But is strict construction to be applied to the question whether they have not reserved the power to themselves to select a Lieutenant-Governor by their own votes? Would not that be a perversion of the doctrine to which my friend alluded, that there should be a strict construction of the Constitution? Now, if your Honors please, with reference to the meaning of this special clause: "Contested elections for Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall be determined"—SHALL be determined—"by the General

Assembly." May I ask your Honors, especially as it is a question of taking jurisdiction yourselves, and denying it to the Legislature, why that question should be approached in a technical spirit?

As my friend, the Attorney-General, who has so ably presented the questions in this case, has said, to contest an election is to deny it. The ground of the denial may be that some one else was elected and not this man, or it may be that there was no election at all, and that some person holding by appointment is entitled to exercise the duties of the office. But in either event the election of Colonel Robertson is denied; it is controverted; it is contested; it is impeached. And how shall this court say that if that honorable man, whom I am glad to say is not here as relator, who was his competitor before the people, had been applying for this writ of mandate impeaching Colonel Robertson's title upon any question, it would have been a contest; but because a person who holds or claims to hold the office under designation by the Senate of Indiana comes here saying, "Though you received the majority of the legal votes of Indiana, you are not elected; I contest your election and claim to exercise the duties of the office myself;" it is not a contest. This court is invited to say, "We will diminish this power, confided by the Constitution to the Legislature, that the political department might deal with that political question, and we will absorb it for the judiciary; we will assume to settle the question whether the Legislature rightly opened and canvassed those votes—whether there was a vacancy." Is it not better, if your Honors please, that the whole question should go to one tribunal or the other, and that we should not engage in any hair-splitting in attempting to divide it? This is the case of a contested election for Lieutenant-Governor. It is the case of an election denied, controverted, challenged. And the Legislature, by express provision of the Constitution, is to deal with it, and, as I have suggested, for a very obvious reason.

In a case in 20th Kansas, page 702, there is a very clear statement of these limitations upon the power of the judiciary:

"Within certain constitutional restrictions the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the State are independent and supreme, and neither has the right to enter upon the exclusive domain of the other. We should pass beyond the limits of our own power to judge of the election or qualifications of a member of the Legislature, and as the Constitution has expressly confided this power to another body, we must leave it where it has been deposited by the fundamental law."

Now, if your Honors please, I do not hesitate to say that, entirely outside and independent of that provision of our Constitution which makes each house of the General Assembly the judge of the election and qualifications of its own members, that would be true, inherently, and without any such constitutional provision at all. "Because if this court might decide who were and who were not members of the Legislature, this court would dominate the Legislature, and if we are at liberty to interfere in this case, or if with the consent of the Legislature even, where the Legislature asked it, we assume jurisdiction, we may review all similar decisions of that body, and in the end bring the legislative power of the State in conflict with the judicial. The objections to such a course are so strong and obvious that all must acknowledge them."

In a case to which the attention of the court has been called, and which I have here before me, 28th Arkansas, this precise question was considered by the supreme judicial tribunal of that State, and under a constitutional provision almost identical with our own. I will read a brief extract from the opinion:

"The argument is pressed here that if the Governor be a usurper, and his seat not contested before the Legislature, the people are governed by a mere trespasser, and, if the Attorney-General cannot sue out *quo warranto*, and this court decide who is elected, there is no remedy, and that rights so dear and rights so sacred to the people can never be thus violated in a just government, and no redress offered. This is but changing the form of the sophism, and is answered by the same solution. The

question is in whom shall so sacred a trust be reposed. If in the Attorney-General and a few judges, and they shpuld not execute it, would not the same result be produced? Shall the Governor of the State, the head of the executive department, be subject to removal by the courts of the State? Shall these departments be co-ordinate, co-equal in strength and dignity, or shall the officers of one have power to remove the incumbent of the other, and thus dictate his policy or hold the executive at his mercy? It seems to be one of the elementary principles of our government that the departments should be co-ordinate and co-equal, and that the courts of the State move forward in the discharge of their duties free from executive policy and beyond executive control. The Governor is clothed with the manhood that places him above the whims, and stronger than any prejudice that could possibly exist in a court, and leaves his position to those who, under the Constitution, are to designate the proper incumbent, and who are to try him for crimes or misdemeanors in office; and all the presumptions of integrity that can and should weigh in favor of a court must be allowed in favor of the representative men of the people."

If it be true that this court—and if it is true, it is true also of the courts of the United States—can, upon some assumption that an election did not take place at the proper time, or, in the case of an election of a President, that the college of electors did not meet at the proper time in any State, or that their vote was not properly recorded—if the courts may, upon the assumption of an Attorney-General, or a rival claimant for the governorship, or the presidency, consider and decide such questions, then, if your Honors please, that principle of checks and balances upon which our National government was formed, and after which our State government is modeled, is completely and forever at an end.

In the case in 4th Wisconsin—and I should say with reference to that case, that there was no such provision in the Constitution as we have here, lodging the counting of the votes and the declaration of the result

and the induction of the Governor into office in the Legislature—the votes were canvassed by a State board of canvassers. It was claimed in that case that Mr. Barstow and his friends had secured a canvass in his favor by the most outrageous and widespread election frauds. I have read with great interest the discussion of the question by Mat Carpenter and counsel. It is full of historical illustrations and of references to the most reputable authors upon constitutional law and governmental philosophy. He may go further in his conclusions than I would go, or this court may follow: but a perusal of the cogent and well-illustrated reasons he gives why the judicial department should not have control of the question who is and who is not Governor, cannot but be useful to any student of the law. After alluding to an objection urged by M. Turgot to our National Constitution, that it undertook to balance these different departments as if the same equilibrium of powers which had been thought necessary to balance the enormous preponderance of royalty could be of any use in a Republican form of government based upon the equality of the citizens, Mr. Carpenter says:

"This objection, if well taken, applies to our National as well as State governments; and to justify the necessity for this division of powers, this balancing and equilibrium of powers, Mr. Adams put forth his defence of the Constitution, which, as a general treatise upon the science of government and a commentary upon our own, is regarded as an authority. What the dreaming, theorizing Frenchman regarded as a blemish, the great American patriot regarded as a crowning excellence. In his preface to that work Mr. Adams says: 'Representations instead of collections of the people; a total separation of the executive from the legislative power, and of the judicial from both; and the balance in the legislature by three independent, equal branches, are, perhaps, the only three discoveries in the Constitution of a free government since the institution of Lycurgus.'"

Mr. Wirt, in a case brought to his attention, and reported in the first opinions of the Attorney-General of

the State, says, on the question submitted to him: "Whether, in any case, an injunction is binding upon the executive department of the government; and second, if so, whether an injunction is binding upon the officers of the treasury—"

"On the first and second questions I am of the opinion that it is not within the power of the judicial branch of our government to enjoin the executive from any duty specially devolved upon it by the legislative branch of the government, or by the Constitution of the United States. If it were otherwise, it would be in the power of the judicial branch of the government to arrest the whole power of the other two branches. My opinion is that the judiciary can no more arrest the executive in the execution of a constitutional law than they can arrest the Legislature itself in passing the law. It would be easy to show that the existence of such a power in the judiciary would place the existence, not only of the government, but of the Nation itself, at the mercy of that body in every crisis, both of war or peace. It is, therefore, in my opinion, essential to the government to assert for the executive this independence of action."

In the celebrated Dorr case, in Rhode Island, the court, in charging the jury, is quoted by Mr. Carpenter as saying :

"Courts take notice without proof offered from the bar what the Constitution is, or was, and who is or was the Governor of their own State. It belongs to the Legislature to exercise this high duty [that of canvassing votes]. It is the Legislature which, in the exercise of its delegated sovereignty, counts the votes and declares whether a Constitution be adopted, or a Governor elected, or not; and we cannot revise nor reverse their acts, in this particular, without usurping their power. Were the votes on the adoption of our present Constitution now offered here, to prove that it was or was not adopted, or those given for the Governor under it, to prove that he was or was not elected, we would not receive the evidence ourselves—we could not permit it to pass to the jury. And why not? Because, if we do

so, we should cease to be a mere judicial, and become a political tribunal, with the whole sovereignty in our hands. Neither the people nor the Legislature would be sovereign. We should be sovereign, or you would be sovereign; and we should deal out to parties litigant, here at our bar, sovereignty to this or that, according to rules or laws of our own making, and heretofore unknown in courts."

It will be noticed that in this case the court said that it belongs to the Legislature to decide whether there was an election. That is precisely the case which has been supposed to take this case out of the provision of the Constitution to which I have just referred, confiding to the Legislature the power to determine who has been elected Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Dorr and his friends had gotten up a government, and they held an election. It was not a question of how many votes Dorr got, or somebody else, but it was distinctly, as here, whether any election could be held. The political department of the State had held that it could not be held, and the court trying him said that was conclusive. And it must be equally conclusive here, when our Legislature, under the forms of the law, or if there was lacking any due form of law it was lacking simply because certain members of one branch of the Legislature, duly notified, as these papers show, by the Speaker, of his purpose to discharge a constitutional duty, refused to attend and discharge theirs, has declared Robertson to have been elected Lieutenant-Governor, and has inducted him into office.

And, if your Honors please, the cases of Collins and of Biddle against Willard do not at all militate against this doctrine. In the case of Collins the Legislature passed a law providing that there should be an Attorney-General who should be elected by the Legislature. Before the Legislature adjourned the Governor assumed to appoint an Attorney-General. I believe our distinguished fellow-citizen, Joseph A. Wright, was then Governor of the State. He first ordered a commission to Isaac Blackford as Attorney-General, and Secretary of

State Collins, upon his direction, issued it. It was put into the mails, addressed to Isaac Blackford, and, after it had been thus addressed, some one, by the direction of the Governor, recovered the commission from the mails and inserted the name of Judge Morrison, erasing the name of Judge Blackford. The question came before the courts, not involving any political power or question, but involving the question simply whether there was a vacancy in the office of Attorney-General that could be filled by the Governor by appointment. And it was held that, because under the law the power was reserved to the Legislature to appoint, it could not be said that they had declined to exercise that power while they yet remained in session. That was all.

The other case, if your Honors please, was not a question of the election of a man to a political office—the Biddle case—but the election of a man to this bench. And this court was passing upon the question of the validity of the election of a man who was sitting here as a member of this court. Is there anything incongruous or contrary to any part of my argument in that suggestion? Upon the other hand, does it not fall in with it that this court is to decide who its own members are?

If your Honors please, suppose the parties to this action were reversed. Sometimes we get a better view of an object by turning it around. Suppose Colonel Robertson were the relator and Green Smith the respondent. Suppose Colonel Robertson had alleged that he was duly elected Lieutenant-Governor; that the vote had been canvassed, and that he had been sworn into office conformably to the Constitution and the laws, and that Green Smith was presiding over the Senate in usurpation of his right to preside there, and that he should have come to your Honors now, and asked for an injunction to restrain Green Smith, who had been chosen by a majority of the Senate to exercise the functions of President of the Senate. Do your Honors think you would have entertained jurisdiction in such a case, or that any court would? That you would assume to say to the Senate

of Indiana who should preside over it, and who should not? Or to the joint convention, assembled conformably to the law of Congress, in the execution of a federal duty, who should or should not preside over it? And yet, just that has been done here, if your Honors please. And that is the second branch of this question of jurisdiction, upon which I shall say a word.

You are asked to sustain an injunction that does not run according to the will of the Senate. The Senate have not invoked your power. Green Smith is the relator. To do so would be to lay the Senate of Indiana at your feet and say to them, "Whatever your view may be; whatever the wish of the majority of your members may be, Robert S. Robertson, at your request even, shall not preside over you." No, if your Honors please, this writ of injunction is *sui generis*. It occupies a pinnacle of absurdity that has never been reached in a judicial proceeding before.

I understood the question to be propounded by one of the judges whether, the Senate refusing to admit Colonel Robertson to his seat, he might not have applied for a writ of mandate. Manifestly not. Certainly that question will not bear consideration. Mandate!

Justice Mitchell—Pardon me; that was not the question I put at all. The question I put was: Suppose that Colonel Robertson, persisting in his right to preside, had been adjudged in contempt by the Senate.

Senator Harrison—I was not alluding to the question propounded by your Honor this afternoon, but to one propounded this morning or yesterday.

Justice Mitchell—I never had such a question as that in my mind, if you refer to me.

Justice Zollars—I do not recollect of asking such a question.

Senator Harrison—if not, if the very suggestion of the proposition meets with a disclaimer on all hands, then does it not show a limitation of power in this court to deal with the subject? You can keep a man from presiding over the Senate. You can, by injunction, restrain him from doing it, but you cannot compel the Senate by

mandate to permit him to do it. One would think these remedies ought to be mutual.

WAS THERE AN ELECTION?

But, if your Honors please, if we can come so far, if these threshold questions may be safely passed, and we can ever reach the question whether there was an election for Lieutenant-Governor, on the 2d day of November last, then I have upon that subject a few words to submit.

And let me say first, that my client here does not come as an impostor; he does not come with the rude and vulgar airs of a usurper, for rudeness and vulgarity are the natural apparel of the usurper. He comes, after having submitted to the intelligent voters of Indiana his character and fitness for this high office. Not one member of this court, I may assume; not one of the learned counsel for the relator; not one probably of this little company that hear me to-day but expressed his choice for or against him. I do not say, at all, that this must be conclusive upon the body endowed, under the Constitution, with the power to try his right to the office; but I do say, may it please your Honors, that, whatever that tribunal is, whether the Legislature or this court, my client comes before it in an attitude to challenge their respect, and backed by a popular sentiment that demands that the questions which are at issue shall have the most careful and deliberate consideration of the tribunal trying them. In a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, constitutions must not be strained to deprive them of the right to choose their own officers. If your Honors please, this is a popular government. Right jealous and careful were the framers of our Constitution to secure to the people the right to select those who were to administer all three of the departments of our State government. Previously, in many places, indeed now, the judiciary of the State had been appointive; but under the present Constitution the people took to themselves the right to choose the members of this high tribunal and every other judicial officer in the State of Indiana.

They especially declared in the Constitution that the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor should be elected by the people. If there is a vacancy in the office, as is admitted, and we are brought to a study of the Constitution as to whether the people, by the ordinary methods pointed out by law, may fill it according to their choice, I say again, we should come to the consideration of that question with a disposition to effectuate, if we can, the popular will. Not that we can do so at the expense of plain provisions of the Constitution, but with a disposition to do so, if a liberal and kindly construction can give to the people this right to choose their own Lieutenant-Governor. I press this upon the court: If the question is doubtful, the doubt should be solved on the side of popular government. I am not indulging in propositions that can be labelled Republican or Democratic; they are principles that all parties and all statesmen at least affect to reverence.

Now, coming to the consideration of our Constitution in such a spirit, and remembering that the chief executive of this State, having called upon its law officer, received from him an opinion that there was a vacancy that should be filled; remembering that in every county of this State the administrative officer, the sheriff, issued his notice to the electors to choose a Lieutenant-Governor; remembering that through all that campaign no man interposed by injunction against a sheriff from publishing such a notice or sought to raise the question until the issue had been fought out at the polls; remembering that all the forms of law have been observed; remembering that a half million of free people of all political parties in this State have expressed their choice in an orderly and honest way at the polls that is unchallenged as a true expression of the popular will; remembering all that, let us come to a consideration of the question whether there is anything in our Constitution that prohibited the people from choosing a Lieutenant-Governor on the 2d day of last November.

If your Honors please, I have here before me the second volume of the constitutional debates. Your

Honors are familiar with the manner in which this book was compiled, and of course know that the Constitution, as it was adopted by sections, as the convention acted upon it, was recast in form and the sections put together in articles, so that the number as mentioned here cannot always be accurately identified in the present compilation. On page 1316 I find it said :

"The section prescribing the manner of electing a Governor and Lieutenant-Governor was read a second time."

"Mr. Kelso [known to many of you] moved to strike out the latter part of the section and insert a provision to the effect that, if it should become necessary to fill a vacancy in the office of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor at any time, when no general election was held, it might be done."

Note the proposition. Not to wait for any general election, but to have a special election to fill those offices if they should become vacant.

"Mr. Morrison, of Marion [known to many of us here, now dead], said he could see no reason for a change in this respect; THE OFFICES WOULD ALL BE FILLED AT THE NEXT GENERAL ELECTION. Besides such a provision would be inconsistent with another part of the same article."

Evidently referring to that section which provides that the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor shall be elected at the same time with the members of the Legislature. So it seems, if your Honors please, in the debates in the convention that framed the Constitution, this question whether the people should have an election or not to fill a vacancy, was raised, and Mr. Morrison, who, I think, was upon the committee that reported it, delivered his opinion, "The offices would all be filled at the next general election." And now, if your Honors please, a Senator, elected by two counties, confronts the five hundred thousand voters with the proposition that the people of the two counties he represents have a right to select a man to discharge the duties of this high office in disregard of the will of the mass of the people of Indiana.

And there is to be no election, he says. And why not? If your Honors please, there is just one suggestion, and only one, found in the Constitution or statute against it, and that is the declaration that the term of office of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor shall begin on a particular day. That, and nothing else, raises a doubt on this question. We are met here with the remarkable theory that the framers of our Constitution, instead of contemplating an election to fill these vacancies at the next general election, as Mr. Morrison says, absolutely contemplated a condition of things in which, if the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor-elect died before their inauguration, or immediately afterwards, the power of the people to designate their successors was to be in restraint for four full years! And that is where we are left! This is the argument that comes from my Democratic friend! That this Constitution was meant to say that for four full years a man, the choice of a single county, elected not to exercise the duties of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, but those of a Senator alone, must be the chief executive of the State of Indiana! Can we, being part of a government so thoroughly popular as the government of our State is, come to such a conclusion unless a compulsion of steel bands and rivets is upon our opinion? Shall we adopt such a conclusion? Are we thus hedged in? No. If we simply construe that section to apply to the full and regular terms of the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor; if we simply say that the people meant that there should be these periods marked and defined in the regular terms, and that they were not intended to be restrictive of the power of the people to fill a vacancy by election, then all is clear. Our government goes on in an orderly way. Its popular control and character are recognized. The men administer these offices whom the people choose. Put that construction upon it, and all doubt vanishes away.

Justice Zollars—Would your idea be that if the Governor should die there should be an election?

Senator Harrison—I have no doubt of the power to have such election, though I think the argument is stronger in case of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Justice Zollars—Then our practice has been wrong.

Senator Harrison—I know the practice has been that the Lieutenant-Governor succeeds to the office; that he is continued in the succession; that the Lieutenant-Governor discharges those duties. But that is a very different question from this, because, I say to your Honors, and say it advisedly, there is no one designated to discharge the duties of Lieutenant-Governor in case of a vacancy in that office, and we meet under this construction of the Constitution, this anomaly: That we have this one office that may become vacant by death or resignation, the duties of which are devolved upon no one; neither is there a provision for electing his successor. I know—

Justice Mitchell—Is it not the fact that in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor the duties are devolved upon the President of the Senate?

Senator Harrison—I would be very glad if your Honor would show me where that is said. Admitting that the Senate may elect a president *pro tempore* who presides over the Senate, and of course discharges, so far as he presides, the same duty that the Lieutenant-Governor would if he presided, but where is the provision in the Constitution or the law that invests him with any other function of the office of Lieutenant-Governor?

Justice Mitchell—I might answer that there is no provision in the Constitution or law which invests the Lieutenant-Governor with any other function. That is the whole statement of the function of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Senator Harrison—Does not the Constitution especially provide or permit that other duties may be devolved upon him by law?

Justice Mitchell—I am not aware that it does.

Senator Harrison—Then how is it that he is made a member of the Board of Equalization?

Justice Mitchell—They might have made the sheriff of Marion county a member of the Board of Equalization just as well as the Lieutenant-Governor.

Senator Harrison—Then duties defined by law may be added to the office, and yet there is no provision for a

successor if the Lieutenant-Governor dies, nor are his duties assigned to any one else?

Justice Mitchell—That depends on whether I have rightly interpreted that section, namely: That all the constitutional duty of the Lieutenant-Governor, all the constitutional duty that he has to perform is to preside over the Senate; and when the Constitution provides that in the event of the death or absence of the Lieutenant-Governor the president *pro tempore* shall do that, then all his constitutional duties are filled and provided for.

Senator Harrison—"Whenever the Lieutenant-Governor shall act as Governor, or shall be unable to attend as President of the Senate, the Senate shall elect one of its own members as president for the occasion." That is what is said; but if your Honors please, there are other duties devolved by law rightly, not contrary to the Constitution, but rightly upon the Lieutenant-Governor.

Justice Mitchell—I agree with that. I do not want to interrupt you; but I have thought very seriously over the proposition you are discussing, and I only wish to give you the idea so as to draw out yours in return. The only constitutional duty which I have been able to find devolved upon the Lieutenant-Governor was that of presiding over the Senate, and of being in expectancy to discharge the duties of Governor in case of the death or resignation of the Governor. Now, when the Constitution also provides that in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor those same duties shall be devolved upon another, then the question comes to my mind, don't that fill the office, and can it be said that there is a vacancy in the office?

Senator Harrison—if your Honors please, it seems to me that is very far short of being conclusive logic—with all due respect.

Judge Mitchell—I want to hear your logic.

Senator Harrison—if it was provided that in case of the death or inability to attend of the clerk of the court, that the duties of the clerk of the court should thereupon devolve upon the auditor "for the occasion," I think that would hardly be conclusive that we were not to elect a clerk at the first chance.

But suppose it to be true, then, if your Honors please, that upon the death of the Lieutenant-Governor the duties are devolved on some one else—

Justice Zollars—Judge Mitchell's position is, all the ~~Constitutional~~ duties.

Senator Harrison—I do not care whether it is all his duties, as defined by the Constitution, or all the duties, which, under the Constitution, the Legislature has rightly devolved upon him. Keeping in mind the qualifying words of the Constitution—"for the occasion"—is it not a very forced conclusion that his successor is to discharge those duties for four years, and that the vacancy in the office of Lieutenant-Governor may not be filled? So far from an idea of permanence, does not the very grant of authority to elect this man "for the occasion" imply a limited and temporary discharge of the duties? If the intention were otherwise, would not the Constitution have said that the successor should discharge the duties until the expiration of the term, or until the vacancy is filled, instead of using such transitory, temporary words of sufferance?

Mr. Brown—May I ask you on that—Ought not the courts to follow the construction put upon the words "for the occasion" that the Legislature had put upon those words?

Senator Harrison—What is that construction? That put on them by Mr. Smith?

Mr. Brown—No, sir; I mean the construction that has been universally put upon those words by the Legislature.

Senator Harrison—What is that?

Mr. Brown—That has been this, as I remember it, that the Senate would elect a President, and in all cases of absence for any cause thereafter of the Lieutenant-Governor, the person so elected should discharge the duties of the office in so far as presiding over the Senate is concerned.

Senator Harrison—That may be; but still it simply enlarges the "occasion" from that of a day to a week; it still does not add any idea of permanence; none what-

ever; and, if your Honors please, the idea of permanence is expressly excluded by the fact that the Senate of Indiana is not a continuing body. Suppose, instead of being a hold-over Senator, Mr. Green Smith's term had expired with the last Legislature. Where is your President *pro tempore*? The office necessarily ends with the adjournment of the Legislature. It was an assumption, in my mind an assumption that I cannot fitly characterize here, that the fact that he had been elected at a previous General Assembly made him the presiding officer of the present Senate, in which there were only twenty-four men who voted for him. It is only because the Senate of the United States is held to be a continuing body by reason of an expressed rule that the President *pro tempore* holds continuously; and, unlike the Speaker of the House, does not terminate his official existence with the Congress. I say that qualification does not inhere in the Senate of Indiana; it is not a continuing body. And when it elects a President, a President *pro tempore*, for the occasion, his power cannot run into the organization of a new Legislature.

Mr. Brown—Have you forgotten, General, that the bill avers that General Manson resigned some time in August last, that Smith was elected by the present Senate of Indiana on the 6th day of January, and that all these averred causes of information are subsequent to that date?

Senator Harrison—I have not forgotten, if your Honors please, those most extraordinary double-action allegations in this petition. That this Senate recognized Mr. Smith as being already President *pro tempore*, and by the same resolution elected him to be such. [Laughter.] A juggle, if your Honors please, that may have an appropriate place where politicians assemble, but has no standing in this court. I am not unaware, too, of the fact that this bill and answer show that when Mr. Smith was previously elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate, Mahlon D. Manson, then Lieutenant-Governor, was in the chair, and put the question on his election. Utterly void!—void under the Constitution, which gives

the Senate the right only to elect when the Lieutenant-Governor is absent. Why, so well recognized is the rule that when President Garfield and Vice-President Arthur came in, at the executive session first held, the Senate elected no President *pro tempore*, and could not, because the Vice-President occupied the chair. And when that fatal bullet of the assassin killed the President, Congress had to be reconvened, that the Senate might choose one in order to provide for the succession. And I remember, too, that when our own distinguished citizen, Thomas A. Hendricks, whose untimely taking off we all mourn, became Vice-President, he, too, occupied his place in the Vice-President's chair, and did not give the Senate opportunity to select a President *pro tempore*, and that when he died there was no successor if President Cleveland had followed his untimely footsteps. And yet we have a case here, and the gentleman calls my attention to it, where it is shown by the papers that this man, claiming to hold over and to have succeeded when General Manson became collector of internal revenue, to the office of Lieutenant-Governor, was elected with the Lieutenant-Governor in the chair.

It is "for an occasion," may it please your Honors. Words of limitation, characterizing an office as temporary, fleeting and inviting a successor, could not have been more aptly chosen. I will not detain your Honors longer with the discussion of this question. The limit of time which, I assume, was assigned me has been exhausted.

Justice Mitchell—We have interrupted you some, and I take it the court will be glad to have you occupy the time needed to conclude your argument.

Senator Harrison—The interruptions have only ornamented my argument.

Mr. Brown—So far as we are concerned, there is no limit of time.

Justice Mitchell—Our interruptions may have broken the chain of your argument and placed you at some disadvantage, and we would be glad to have you finish.

Senator Harrison—if I have been put to any disad-

vantage by the interruptions, it was on account of the weakness of the advocate, and not of the cause for which I speak.

Your Honors, here are two threshold questions of jurisdiction. To the consideration thereof I invoke the careful, thoughtful and conscientious consideration of the court. I am sure I need not, by any word of mine, attempt to stimulate your courage to deal with any question that can be submitted. It would be a disrespectful suggestion. Because the court that, walking uprightly in the strength and dignity of the high office it exercises, and defying clamor, refuses to decide questions of which it has not jurisdiction, will outlive clamor, and will establish itself in the confidence of the whole people, a confidence which gives its judgments strength and executes its decrees without the aid of force.

As some periods in the text of this chapter may appear extravagant, it may be well to fortify them; and, for that purpose, I am glad to avail myself of a letter received from W. P. Fishback, Esq., under date of July 13, 1888.

Mr. Fishback was a member, as has been stated, of the firm of Porter, Harrison & Fishback, and says:

I saw General Harrison first in 1850 at Miami University. My room at Mr. High's boarding-house was next to David Swing's, and Ben (Harrison) came regularly on his way to Prof. Elliott's room to get some coaching in Pindar from Swing, who was his classmate. Ben was at the head in Latin and mathematics; so was Milt. Saylor of the same class. But they both, and I might say the whole class, looked upon Swing as the best in Greek.

In the Union Literary Society Ben was a star. I remember his faculty in extemporaneous speech amazed me, a faculty which he has improved wonderfully. In all my knowledge of him I never knew him to trip in a

sentence. He seemed to see about two well-rounded sentences ahead of him all the time. . . . During the time I was his partner he worked like a slave. He was Reporter of the Supreme Court and prepared the "sylabuses" or "syllabii," as the case may be, at his home at nights. He was working to pay for his house, and came near wrecking his health by overwork. . . . Before he came home from the field Porter and I, who were partners, wanted him to become second man in the firm of P., H. & F.—second in place, but always *facile princeps* in ability and industry. I have never been a laggard myself, neither has Porter; but I declare that of all the men I have known in professional life, Ben Harrison is the most diligent, painstaking and thorough. . . .

It was the rule in our firm, when we were for the defense, to make Ben close for our side. If he made the first speech we were like Riley's old father in the poem, "Nothin' to say." That is literally true. More than once, when some other pressing duty was calling him, he would be allowed to make the first speech; and it was amusing to see Porter, as Ben proceeded. He would strike out from his notes one thing after another until Ben had finished. Then, when he was done, we would put our heads together and wisely conclude to let the case go with one speech for our side. He was a merciless reaper; nothing, absolutely nothing, was left for the most careful gleaner. Porter will bear me out in this. . . . As an examiner of witnesses I never saw his (Harrison's) equal. He knew when to quit. He generally knew a tartar without catching it. Once an irascible elderly lady was on the witness stand. She testified with great spirit and extravagance; she was one of the "willingest" you ever saw. When passed to Ben for cross-examination there was a look of triumph in her eye. She squared herself for a bout, when Ben said:

" You may stand aside, madam."

" Oh, I have heard of you; you can cross-question me as much as you please; I am not afraid of you," said she.

" I have no questions to ask you, madam," was the

bland reply, and she was finished. She had most effectually destroyed whatever of weight there might have been in her evidence, and Ben allowed her to retire.

. . . . Ben's fidelity—absolute and unqualified by the magnitude of the interests involved in a case—was another marked feature of his style of work. If we had consented to take a case, no matter how small, it was prepared for trial by him with as much care as if the controversy was of the greatest importance. His notes for cross-examination were always complete; and I never saw a dishonest witness get out of his hands without exposure. Men of his rare ability are sometimes led to abuse their power, but he never did this to my knowledge. The jury could always see that he was fair with the witness and gave him full opportunity for explanation and escape if there was any chance. . . . One of his greatest triumphs in cross-examination was in the celebrated Clem murder case. Three persons were indicted for the murder—Mrs. Clem, William Abrams, and Syke Hartman (Mrs. Clem's brother). Each of them attempted to prove an *alibi*. The murder was committed about four miles from Indianapolis on a Saturday afternoon at quarter past four o'clock in September, 1868. Two reputable ladies swore that at four o'clock on the day of the murder they met and conversed with Mrs. Clem in the New York store in the city of Indianapolis. If this were true the whole theory of the prosecution was wrong. The circumstances tended to show that Mrs. Clem murdered Mr. Young with her own hand, and the case rested wholly on circumstantial evidence. The *alibi* witnesses were apparently honest. That they had met and conversed with Mrs. Clem at the place, and at the time and day they named, was beyond question. It was equally certain that it was on Saturday; and that it was the identical Saturday when the murder was committed they were sure. That they were mistaken we were sure, but how to show it was the question. Ben went at it on the theory that he could, by cross-examination, show that it was some other Saturday. The force of an *alibi* depends upon its covering the exact time the other facts,

with all their circumstances, may have occurred; but the time is the thing. Ben asked them to name something else that happened the day they met Mrs. Clem. A letter had been written to a friend in Pennsylvania, for one thing. That did not help the matter. It was necessary to have them state something which could be traced and shown to have occurred at another time. Patiently, persistently and politely they were asked again and again by way of suggestion if this or that had happened. At the end of a long siege the mother's eye lit up, and she said: "Oh, yes; I remember now. It was the day the constable from 'Squire Fisher's came to serve a subpoena on us." In ten minutes the docket of Esquire Fisher was in the court room, the subpoena and return were there, and it appeared that it was *Saturday, the week after the murder*, when they saw Mrs. Clem in the store. She was still at large at that time; and we proved by other witnesses that she was down town shopping that day. The *alibis* for the other defendants were very clumsy and were more easily disproved. . . . I have been suspected of having an exaggerated estimate of Harrison's ability; but I declare that, in my experience of thirty-two years, I have never seen a man in whose hands I would be more willing to place my imperilled life or fortune than in his. I have heard some men say that he is overrated; but they were generally those who had never grappled with him in a hard fight. No lawyer who ever met him before court or jury will talk that way.

On this testimony the chapter given to General Harrison's professional career may be rested.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SOLDIER.

THE fruits of the great Union victory at Pittsburg Landing, April 7, 1862, were first, the recovery of the Mississippi river to its mouth; second, the separation of the Trans-Mississippi States of the Confederacy, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas, from the States eastward of the river. These fruits were lost by the inaction that followed the victory, and by dividing the magnificent army gathered at and around Corinth into detachments, and scattering them aimlessly up and down the country.

The disappointment to the loyal people of the West consequent upon the failure to realize something commensurate with the success was intensely bitter. At length General Buell was ordered to march the Army of the Ohio to Chattanooga, and hold it for some succeeding operation all unknown except to General Halleck, chief commander of the army, and there have been great suspicions that on that ulterior point even he was not fully made up in mind.

There can be little question that General Buell could have established himself in Chattanooga if

he had been allowed to proceed as he wished, by a direct march along a route north of the Tennessee river, drawing supplies from Nashville. Instead of that he was peremptorily required to follow the line of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad from Corinth to Decatur, repairing it as he went. It resulted that General Bragg was able to concentrate a new army at Chattanooga before Buell could reach it, whereupon the latter was speedily put upon the defensive. Then began the celebrated race on parallel lines between the generals, in the course of which Buell was severely taxed to save Nashville first and then Louisville. The news spread through Ohio and Indiana that the Confederates were in Kentucky in force, with the advantage of the interior line for their operations. The consternation was prodigious.

President Lincoln had recently issued another proclamation calling for troops. So great was the public depression, however, that Governor Morton found difficulty in filling the quota due from Indiana; but, keenly alive to the dangers of the situation, he made appeals everywhere and to everybody to assist in the work. No one was so dull of military perception as not to see that Indiana and Ohio were threatened by Bragg. A battle lost in Kentucky would make it easy for that chief to carry his army across the Ohio at his pleasure.

One day, when the gloom of the public was deepest, Garrison, in company with a friend, called upon Governor Morton. The visitors found him pacing the floor of the reception room of the executive office in a frame of mind fairly reflective of the general feeling. When the business which had brought them was concluded the Governor took them into his inner room on the first floor on the east side of the old State House, where they stood with him looking out of a window. A number of workmen were in fair view engaged in the erection of what is now known as the Gallup Building on Tennessee street. After a brief silence, Morton remarked that he was quite discouraged; that the President's call for more troops had been out for some time, and met no ready response; that the people were slow in waking up to the exigency of the moment, and, pointing to some men cutting stone on the other side of the street, he said: "The people are following their own private business, so that it has come to be a serious question what I shall do next to arouse them." He spoke with a great deal of depression, and in such a manner that Garrison felt he was addressing himself personally to him. So he replied: "Governor, if I can be of any service, I will go."

"Well," the other replied at once, "you can raise a regiment in this Congressional district right away; but it is asking too much of you to go

into the field with it; you have just been elected Reporter of the Supreme Court. But go to work and raise it, and we will find somebody to command it."

Harrison answered that that did not suit him; if he made any speeches, and asked men to go, he proposed to go along with them, and stay as long as any of them did, if he lived that long. He said emphatically that he did not intend to recruit others and stay at home himself.

The Governor remarked: "Very well; if you want to go, you can command the regiment."

"I do not know," Harrison replied, "as I want to command the regiment. I do not know anything about military tactics. So, if you can find some suitable person of experience in such matters, I am not at all anxious to take the command."

The result was that at the end of the interview Harrison went up street, and on the way, without going home, stepped into a hat store and bought a military cap. Without the loss of a moment he then engaged a fifer and drummer, returned to his office, threw a flag out of the window, and began recruiting for Company A.

The company was speedily full and put into camp in the western part of the city. The new soldiers lay there, and drilled as they had opportunity. Harrison employed a drill-master in Chicago for them, paying the hire himself. There

they remained about a month. In the meantime he was given a commission as Second Lieutenant. Frequently, when the drill was over, he went out and made speeches in aid of other gentlemen engaged in raising companies. When the regiment was complete Governor Morton voluntarily commissioned him Colonel.

The military authorities were concentrating troops about that time in Louisville to meet Kirby Smith, who had passed through Cumberland Gap and was making way northward through New London to Lexington. The rawness of Colonel Harrison's companies can well be imagined; muskets had just been issued to them, and they did not know how to handle them. But the excitement was heightened by the circumstance that General Bragg was hastening with the main body of his army to Louisville, having turned Nashville, to which General Buell had marched to save the immense stores of supplies there collected. The rebel general was in fact north of Nashville, so that Bowling Green, which was at that time fortified, had become a Union outpost, below which everything had been broken by the Confederates. Thither Harrison's 70th Regiment Indiana Volunteers was hurried.

Buell's army, in pursuit of Bragg, marched past Bowling Green, and the regiment was still there when the battle of Perryville was fought, having been brigaded temporarily under General Dumont.

While stationed at Bowling Green Colonel Harrison was sent upon an expedition against a body of rebels lodged at Russellville, and, as it was his first essay in what may be called an independent operation, it may be of interest to give its details. His command was put upon a train and hurried off. When he had arrived within about ten miles of the town the advance was stopped by an untoward circumstance. The enemy had burned a bridge over a small stream and then retired to Russellville to have a good time with sympathizing friends. Colonel Harrison, however, was not so easily stopped; he had resources within his regiment. Two or three of his captains had been railroad men, and, upon examination of the bridge, they thought they could repair the damage so as to cross the train with but little delay. Only a portion of a span was gone. A pier of railroad ties was piled up in the centre as a support; then a couple of large trees were cut down, and pushed across the break. From a side track near by some rails were torn up and laid upon the timbers. Thus a crossing was effected. While slowly approaching the town a negro man plowing corn saw the train, and unhitching his horse, jumped on him, and galloped alongside the track. Colonel Harrison was at the moment on the tender of the locomotive, the better to observe whatever might happen. He had men at the brakes on the freight cars, and

they readily answered his signal to stop. The negro told him where the camp was situated, and how it could be best approached. The Colonel then divided the regiment, sending three or four companies under Major Vance to go around and come in on the other side so as to intercept the enemy when started. Waiting time enough for the detachment to reach its position, he disembarked his troops, and attacked with energy. The surprise was so complete that there was not much of a fight. Forty rebels were killed and wounded; one Unionist soldier was killed. Ten prisoners and all the horses and arms of the rebels were captured. With these trophies the young Colonel returned to Bowling Green.

The 70th Regiment was brigaded with the 79th Ohio and the 102d, 105th and the 129th Illinois, Brigadier-General W. T. Ward, of Kentucky, commanding; and, what is extraordinary, the organization thus effected was kept unchanged to the close of the war. The closeness of the ties formed during the long service between officers and men can be best understood by old soldiers. Out of the association there also grew a confidence of regiment in regiment of inestimable benefit to the cause—a confidence which, as we shall presently see, became in the hour of trial a kind of audacious faith each in the other. By virtue of seniority of commission, Colonel Harrison was given the right of the brigade.

Now that the 70th regiment is in the actual field, it would be very agreeable to give a roster of the officers and, for that matter, the full roll of the men. But on account of the many changes that occurred in course of its career, there is not space for all, while a partial statement would be unsatisfactory.

From Bowling Green, Colonel Harrison, with his command, accompanied the brigade to Scottsville, Kentucky, and thence to Gallatin, Tennessee. For two months he was occupied guarding the Louisville & Nashville road between Gallatin and Nashville. Four months then followed in camp. This period was about evenly divided between hunting guerillas and drilling his men. To the latter occupation he devoted himself sedulously; for it must be remembered that he was as fresh in arms as the greenest man in the ranks. He was systematic and painstaking, however, and buckled to the mysteries of the tactical "schools" as he had in college days to geometry. Indeed, his method of instruction was precisely that of his college tutors. Calling the officers to his tent of evenings, he questioned them progressively and required them to illustrate the manoeuvres upon a board, chalk in hand. "Hardee" was of course the umpire for the settlement of questions. On the parade ground there was general practice of the lessons studied. The course pursued was wise and effective. The

70th became, while at Gallatin, expert in all the military exercises required of infantry. While their dress parade was beautiful, they were "up" not less in sentinel and picket duty. Their "skirmishing" is said to have been a remarkable performance. All the while he was thus making soldiers of his men, the Colonel was making an accomplished officer of himself. His theory was that every day in camp should be used in preparation for that other day, always to be kept in a soldier's mind—the day of battle.

From Gallatin the brigade marched to La-vergne, and thence to Murfreesboro. There it became part of General Granger's Reserve Corps. When General Rosecrans set out for Chattanooga General Ward was sent to Nashville to look after the safety of the trains carrying supplies to the front, a most arduous and important duty, often taxing to the uttermost the courage and best resources of those engaged in it.

At length the time came when Ward's command was called to the front. On the 2d of January, 1864, it became the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division of the 11th Army Corps, and Colonel Harrison was put in command of it, his chief taking the division.

The 11th and 12th Army Corps about this time were consolidated into the 20th Army Corps, whereupon Ward's old brigade became the 1st Brigade of the 3d Division of the 20th Corps,

and so numbered it remained until the conclusion of the war. General Ward returning to the command of the brigade, Colonel Harrison resumed that of the regiment.

It will be perceived by the reader, whether he have been a soldier or not, that by this time Colonel Harrison could not well be any longer called a carpet knight, but rather a seasoned soldier, wanting in but one great remaining experience—that of battle. He himself would not dignify the skirmishes and alarms of the camp by night and by day through which he had passed as incidents of that character; they were merely the trials by which he was making ready for general combats. It is always better for the officer that it should be so; for it is as if, during the time, he were sitting face to face with the terrors of the engaged lines that, by much study, they should become familiar to him, and he himself hardened against the day of their coming. This is said, of course, upon the assumption that battle is terrible to every one who goes down into it. And as that experience was now about to befall Colonel Harrison, thorough understanding requires a brief preliminary explanation.

There had been campaigns and battles before the spring of 1864, but they were mere incidents of irregular operations along a front extending, in a general sense, from the Rio Grande to the Atlantic. In that season, however, a real down-

right commander went into headquarters at Washington, and the old order of things at once changed. Looking with the discerning eye of genius over the whole field, he devised campaigns in combination. Thus he started General Banks up the Red river southwest, and Sherman against Joe Johnston below Chattanooga; he himself would hunt Lee into Richmond. The idea underlying the scheme was to give occupation to the Confederates on their right, left, and centre, and keep them so busy that there could be no passing of help from one section to another. So the numerical superiority of the North would be really available, and the advantage of the inner line nullified.

Sherman, in whose work we are most directly concerned, had with him three famous armies: that of the Ohio (General Schofield), that of the Cumberland (General Thomas), and that of the Tennessee (General McPherson). In popular estimation Atlanta was his objective; but he says it was not so; that he was really directed against the army commanded by General Joseph E. Johnston, 64,000 strong, then at Dalton, entrenched; that he "was required to follow it up closely, so that in no event could any part of it be detached to assist General Lee in Virginia; General Grant undertaking in like manner to keep Lee so busy that he could not respond to any calls of help by Johnston. Neither Atlanta,

nor Augusta, nor Savannah was the objective, but the ‘army of Joe Johnston,’ go where it might.” (2 Mem., p. 25.) He says, moreover, that on the 5th of May he rode out to Ringgold from Chattanooga. Thereupon his campaign began.

To Dalton then, or to get a grip upon Johnston, Sherman directed his columns. The attempt drew from him his first bit of strategy.

Perceiving that the town was very strong as a position, he concluded the best way to take it was to get possession of the railroad which was the enemy’s line of supply. For that it would be necessary to send part of his force around to the south. Accordingly McPherson was chosen for the enterprise, and to his Army of the Tennessee the 20th Corps, under General Hooker, was joined as a support.

The 20th Corps was constituted of three divisions, Newton’s, Williams’, and Butterfield’s. The brigades of the latter were the 1st, commanded by Brigadier-General Ward, the 2d, Colonel John Coburn, the 3d, Colonel Wood.

All the 7th and 8th of May McPherson was in movement. On the 9th he and Hooker issued silently from Snake Creek Gap on the south. A brigade of Confederate cavalry took to their saddles, and hurried to Johnston with news that Buzzard’s Roost and Dalton were turned, and that there was an army in his rear about to take possession of the railroad and Resaca.

While Johnston was thinking what to do in the emergency, Sherman passed his whole army through Snake Creek Gap. On the 14th the enemies stood opposed to each other, Johnston in Resaca, Sherman close up to its defenses. Dalton had been evacuated. The bit of strategy had worked to perfection.

But now to take Resaca!

The town was enveloped on the north and west, and the fighting, mostly at long range, was continuous all through the 14th, and it scarcely quieted in the night. At daylight next morning Sherman drew his compresses closer about the post, and in the afternoon, everybody being in position, he pushed McPherson forward to a ridge commanding the town and a railroad bridge, defense of which was literally a *living* necessity to the Confederates. Accordingly they made repeated attempts to dispossess McPherson; and the attacks and sallies thus brought about have since gone into history as

THE BATTLE OF RESACA.

On Saturday, the 14th, a general engagement had taken place, the Confederates being the attacking party. They attempted to turn Sherman's left, and were themselfed rolled back upon Resaca. The chief fighting that day was by Schofield and Stanley, who lost heavily.

Sunday morning found the two armies ready,

and they began anew. Though the success had been to the Union army the day before, the position of the Confederates was now even more advantageous. The bulk of Johnston's Corps was concentrated on a short line, thoroughly fortified from right to left. The Oostenaula, with its marshy banks, covered his centre, which rested on a considerable ridge; strong field-works protected his left flank; his right abutted against the river, and to get to it an attacking force must needs cross a range of hills crowned with redoubts and rifle-pits.

The front presented by the Confederates was not more than two miles and a half in length; opposite it Sherman's army was drawn up. A reconnoissance was had, and the conclusion reached that the key to the position of the Confederates was some eminences on the right of their line. Sherman determined to assault them. For that purpose Hooker's corps was brought over to the left, with Howard's as support.

A glance at the site to be attacked may be helpful to the reader, by enabling him to thoroughly comprehend the trials of the assault. The eminences should not be thought of as a range; they were in irregular groups, with hollows and ravines between them, all choked with stunted pine trees and undergrowth, without break or path. The turnpike from Dalton unrolled itself at their feet.

In front of the Confederate line there was a hill higher than the others, and it was lodged full of sharpshooters; rearward of the line two other eminences were plain to view; and on the nearest of these a battery had been planted, masked by the woods, while the other was crowned by a redoubt skilfully constructed. Four guns looked from the redoubt down over the turnpike like dogs asleep in the embrasures, and the summit round about was perfectly cleared. These hills were the objects of attack.

The early hours of the forenoon were taken up by Hooker in getting his brigades into position; when all was ready, Butterfield was directed to move forward, and when within range deploy into columns by brigades. Geary and Williams were to support him.

Butterfield's plan of attack was simple. To the 3d Brigade, Wood commanding, the duty of charging the heights on the left of the road was assigned; General Ward, with his 1st Brigade, was to gain possession of the hill upon the right; the 2d Brigade, under Colonel Coburn, was in reserve: so that not inaptly it has been said that the engagement which ensued was really two battles instead of one. We shall confine ourselves altogether to that of General Ward.

At two o'clock that Sunday morning the 1st Brigade (Ward's) had been roused to throw up breastworks. It was their first attempt in that

branch of the art of war, and they were engaged at it when the sun rose struggling with the smoke of the many camps. Hardly had they taken coffee when an order reached Butterfield directing him to move his division to the left of the 14th Army Corps.

The march lay in the rear of the lines, through heavy pine groves. The expectation of battle was in every mind; the gloom of the woods heightened the remembrance that it was Sunday at home, if not there. The silence of the march was unbroken except by an occasional order from an officer and the clink and rattle of canteens and bayonets. At last the new position was reached. A halt was called at the top of an elevation, at the foot of which lay a narrow valley terminating in a higher hill. Looking over the valley, and the pine woods that cloaked it, the men saw in half concealment on the opposite summit a line of skirmishers deployed and ready for business.

Hardly had they time to take in the situation when the ominous order passed down, "Unsling —knapsacks!" . A detail was made to guard them; then, as best might be on account of the ground, the three brigades were formed each into a column of regiments. While the division stood in this order, facing the skirmishers on the opposite crest, they began to surmise the purpose of their transfer over to the extreme left, and when

the final preparative order "Fix bayonets" was given, every man understood he was to take part in an assault upon the enemy in position. Whether he was to look for that enemy behind parapets or in the open like themselves, became a question of liveliest interest. As the experience was a new one, even the bravest heart might be excused if it beat unusually fast.

To General Ward, of the 1st Brigade, there presently rode an officer with the order to attack. The hill on the right of the road was pointed out to him as the one against which he was to direct his column. Without loss of time the order was repeated to Colonel Harrison, who, appreciating the work before him, paused to give some directions. Seeing the impossibility of making way through the woods and dense undergrowth on horseback, he ordered a general dismount of field and staff officers, and dismounted himself. He also made up his mind that it would be difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to preserve his line ; once fairly within the grove of young pine trees he would be unable to see from right to left of his regiments ; if the captains could do better with their companies, they might congratulate themselves. The colors were to be displayed to the best advantage as a centre about which the men were to mass themselves, and by which they were to govern their advance. He said to the officer who brought him the order : "I am not familiar

with the ground ; you are. Go with me, and show me the battery ; I do not want to charge flank on to it." The two then started to reconnoitre. The report of a gun saved them the trouble. Divining the direction from the shell which passed over his head, Harrison called out so as to be heard by the line behind him, "Come on, boys," and started down the hill.

At that moment the formation of the brigade was as follows : 70th Indiana, 79th Ohio, and 102d, 105th and 129th Illinois, with the right in front. This placed Colonel Harrison in the lead ; and while running he marked out as well as he could, down the hill, across the valley, and up the opposite ascent, the line he was to pursue. He yet remembers computing the distance to be passed before he could strike the enemy at about six hundred yards.

The brigade, with a great shout, put itself in motion, arms at right shoulder shift, and all the flags raised to the utmost. The crash of the five regiments through the underbrush, the rush and tear, must be imagined.

Seeing so large a body of men in the act of charging, the rebels on the opposite crest opened upon it with great guns and small. The target was large ; no need to take aim. Under the sharp "zip," "zip" of the bullets, and the singing "p-i-n-g" of grape-shot, familiar to every veteran, officers and men took up the cry of "forward."

As was anticipated, the column rushing down the declivity lost its alignments and intervals, and fused into a mass while crossing the valley. When the ascent was made, the entanglement of the several commands had become inextricable. But, in that supreme disorder, they still bore on, unmindful of the cannon in the redoubt then confronting them—on through the smoke and terrible din. Men fell fast, and there was no time to carry them to the rear; scarcely time to avoid trampling the wounded to death. Colors now and then went down; next moment they would reappear. At length the redoubt was reached; without halting or wavering the exultant mass poured over and into it, and then, the capture effected, the guns in possession, every regiment in the brigade was represented there; nor may it be said with truth that the success was attributable to any one of the several commands exclusively.

Colonel Harrison was amongst the first to cross the parapet. It has been said that he was the very first. A hand-to-hand combat ensued, the gunners defending themselves with their rammers and the assailants attacking with their clubbed muskets; officers exchanged pistol shots. It was, in fact, one of the rare instances of a genuine bayonet-charge without a shot fired except by the defenders of the redoubt. The artillerymen stood at their posts to the last; those not killed were taken prisoners. The air rang

with victorious cheers, and for a while the enclosure was a scene of frantic joy. The colors had all been borne inside, and to both friend and enemy in the distance they announced that the height was gained.

But this was only for an instant. Before the officers could begin the work of reformation, while the men in their exuberance of triumph were embracing each other and shouting, the rebels, on the right and left, and in the second line of works of which they had repossessed themselves, opened a cross-fire upon them so deadly that in a few minutes the interior of the redoubt was vacated, and the conquerors outside in cover behind the parapet and every convenient thing in the vicinity. Unfixing bayonets, they returned the fire and were doing well when two other misfortunes befell them. Some one shouted that there was an order to retreat. From whom the cry proceeded is to this day unknown. Then, to complete the distraction, they were fired upon from behind with fatal effect. Pelted thus front and rear, enfiladed right and left, confused by conflicting orders, distracted, the major part of them retreated to the foot of the hill. Nevertheless a number clung to the redoubt, swearing that they had captured the guns and were going to stay with them, and they made the word good by repulsing every attempt to retake them.

In short, the redoubt was held, though from the

outside. Once the men about it holding grimly on heard the music of a band wafted to them upon the evening air. They thought it a promise of coming relief, and that there was never melody so sweet. But night fell, and then, when the darkness was complete, Colonel Coburn received an order to send a detachment to bring off the guns. A tunnel was driven through the parapet, all hands willingly joining in the work. Then, amid defiant cheers, the trophies were taken out with the dead and wounded.

Colonel Harrison remained at the redoubt until satisfied that it could and would be held. Then he went to the foot of the hill to assist in reforming his men.

"Have you your head on your shoulders yet?" he asked of a lieutenant.

"Yes," was the reply.

"Run, then, as fast as you can and tell those fellows in the rear yonder that they are killing us, and to stop firing, for God's sake."

At the foot of the hill he was informed that General Ward had been wounded, and that the command of the brigade had devolved upon him. Remounting his horse, he had the colors planted and the men speedily in their places, and so reporting, he requested to be allowed to renew the attack, and bring off the remnant on the hill.

Butterfield referred the request to Hooker, who

came in person to see about it, and hearing that the men about the redoubt were doing well and could probably hold their own until night, he marched the brigade off to another quarter of the field.

After that Colonel Harrison was christened by his soldiers "Little Ben," the sobriquet by which they still know him. The writer has before him a little volume entitled, *Our Regiment: A History of the 102d Illinois Infantry Volunteers*. Describing the final parting of the regiments after the grand review at Washington, the author says:

Halting a moment at brigade headquarters we gave three cheers for "Little Ben" (Brevet Brigadier-General Ben Harrison), then looked for the last time at the lone-star-triangle, the battle-flag which had fluttered before us from Chattanooga to Atlanta, from Atlanta to Savannah, and from Savannah to the last encampment.

The battle of Resaca, though unfortunate, had been honorable to the National arms; it was especially honorable to the three brigades of the 3d Division of the 20th Army Corps, Wood's, Coburn's and Ward's. In the crisis of the attack by Colonel Harrison, Colonel Coburn moved up faithfully to his support, and, ascending the hill, took an outwork, but could get no further, so fierce was the fire. To help him, the portion of the 1st Brigade under Colonel Harrison—that rallied after the retirement from the redoubt—was in turn moved over, and joining him, assisted

in holding position the remainder of the day under the very brow of the greater rebel fortification. Wood's assault of the other height had been equally brave and unsuccessful. Sherman and his whole line of battle were delighted when the next morning disclosed the stubborn enemy gone, and Resaca at mercy.

Three days afterward Colonel Harrison had the pleasure of supporting Colonel Coburn in the latter's brilliant capture of Cassville.

General Butterfield, in a complimentary order to the troops of his division, said: "On the 18th the division marched twenty miles—much of it in the heat of the sun; partially making its own roads; moving five miles in line of battle, and driving the enemy before them. On the 19th the division again moved to the enemy's extreme right. The advance of the 1st Brigade, unsupported, driving the enemy to within one and a half miles of Cassville, by the Adairsville road; the reconnoissance of the 3d Brigade to the railroad between Kingston and Cassville, unsupported, and in the presence of five times its number of the enemy; the defiant attitude of the division, alone and unsupported, when threatened by thrice its number; the assault and capture of Cassville, by the 2d Brigade; the daring and boldness of the artillery, especially the section of Battery C, 1st Ohio, Lieutenant King commanding; their fine practice at the enemy's retreating

columns, and the conduct and bearing of the whole division throughout the two days, especially while in the presence of the main army of the enemy, are worthy of the highest commendation. Resaca and Cassville are proud names for our banners."

From Cassville southward still, and every day a collision of some sort with the enemy—at every halt a breastwork built. In this latter incident the army was becoming singularly expert. The spade was of course the reliable tool, but not seldom, when the enemy was near, and his bullets flying low, the scooping of the loose earth was done with tin-cups and plates. The sides of a split canteen were favorite tools. Here is the scene:

The regiment is moving by the flank, generally the right. Suddenly it comes upon the skirmishers covering the front. The firing is warm, and the enemy in force. "Halt!" rings down the column. Every man comes to a "shoulder," the whole body moved up to intervals. There is scarcely a pause—in a breath almost the companies front, and then double-quick into line of battle. There is a rattle of steel; and the arms are stacked. The Colonel gallops along the front; the ground is chosen—"A breastwork here—get to work—break ranks—march!" Thus the Colonel; and if the need is great, he winds up with—"Quick, lads!" The spades and picks are

distributed on the run. There is no lagging—everybody is willing—it may be life or death.

And as to the process. The beginning is a trench, with the earth thrown to the inside. Not a spadeful is wasted. When deep enough to cover a man lying flat, the "hands" are shifted inside, and there another ditch is dug, and the wastage added to the bank, which is now long as the regimental front. It has risen like magic. If time allows, and the timber is convenient, the coping of the breastwork is overlaid with heavy logs. What is most surprising—the men who do the work, sometimes in feverish haste, who crawl into the inner ditch as if to take up their abode there, who defend the shallow parapet for days and weeks, will, when the time comes, march away from them without regret. It may be safely said that there is no labor so willingly done by a soldier as the construction of a breastwork or a rifle-pit when the foe have "got the ranges" upon him.

Probably no army ever became more skilful in this "gophering" than Sherman's during the days it was keeping grip upon Joe Johnston. Their rivals, if they really had any, were the men in gray who opposed them.

Colonel Harrison's command did not fall behind in the accomplishment. From Resaca or they had scarcely a halt in the day or the night that was not marked by a hasty fortification; for

in truth the commands all came as near living under fire the while as soldiers ever did—not one, but all of them. While Resaca was the Colonel's first real battle, it was simply an introduction to a series of others swift in coming, and each seemingly hotter than the one preceding. In one month he was engaged in more battles than his grandfather William Henry Harrison fought in his whole life—more than Andrew Jackson fought in his life. For want of space the engagements in which he participated cannot all be given. A few must suffice to illustrate the many.

HARRISON AT NEW HOPE CHURCH.

The 25th of May found Butterfield's division on the march, and in a hurry, for there was warm work before it. Shortly after noon it crossed Pumpkinville creek, stirred by the clatter of a cavalry skirmish in front. As it proceeded, the sound changed to the deeper tones of battle, which are as base-drum beating to the tum-tum of a tamborine. The messengers from the advance explained it—the 1st and 2d Divisions of the corps (20th) had been attacked by a heavy force on the Dallas road, near New Hope Church.

Arriving in the rear of the position held by their friends of the corps, the three brigades of the 3d Division were formed in line of battle by regiments in mass; the 2d (Coburn's) moved

forward to support the 3d (Wood's). After going a distance of a mile in the direction of the firing, the 3d Brigade bore off to the left, while the 2d advanced to the front, leaving the 1st in reserve. The country over which the movement proceeded is described as an unbroken forest with undulations from twenty to thirty feet in height. Upon one of them the enemy had fortified. The position was admirably chosen for the use of artillery; the whole ground of advance was, in fact, commanded by the rebel guns. The 2d Brigade, taking position, was at once engaged, after which it was give and take in close range for the remainder of the day. The sun went down upon the fight; darkness came, and still there was no cessation of the musketry and the roar of the great guns. And to all the indescribable horrors of the combat there was now added a cold, searching and continuous rain which had the effect to compel a cessation of the struggle.

But as, when the firing ceased, the result of the engagement was undetermined, the 1st Brigade was brought up shivering, cold and wet, with no dry place on which to fling themselves. Colonel Harrison, sharing all the discomforts with his men, set to work with them constructing a breast-work, and, that completed, waited for what the dawn might bring him.

In the mist of the morning the battle began anew. The night had been but a respite. Then,

immediately, Colonel Harrison discovered that through the failure of the guide his whole command was out in an open field to the right of the Sand Town road, which should have marked the right of his position. Almost the first cannon shot apprised him of the mistake, and that it was of a serious nature. The guns were turned upon him; and, to use the language of another describing the fight, shells, grape-shot, canister, railroad spikes, and every deadly missile rained about his regiment. As best they could, hugging the half-finished earthwork before them, the ditch but a pool of muddy water, his men returned the fire. And all that day the contest continued with scarce an intermission, when a Wisconsin regiment came to his relief. The severity of the fire may be judged by the fact that the relieving regiment lost two field officers while getting into position.

That night, when the firing ceased, Colonel Harrison had his dead collected for burial. His wounded he had taken to a little frame house standing a short distance in the rear, and he sent for his surgeons. Unfortunately they had separated from the command in the darkness. Anxious, solicitous and sympathetic, in their absence the Colonel turned surgeon himself. Taking off his coat and rolling his sleeves to his elbows, he set to staunching the wounds. He says, speaking of the circumstance: "I do not know whether I did any service; I tried to." He caused some

tents to be torn up for bandages, and worked industriously several hours before the surgeons appeared. When they came into the improvised hospital, they found him covered with the blood which he had striven to stop. In the dim, flickering light of candles stuck in the floor, he looked like a butcher instead of a Samaritan. The survivors of his treatment never forgot his tenderness and the sympathy he showed by look, voice and action.

As incidents of the fight, Colonel Harrison tells of curious injuries received by his Major.

"I had gone," he says, "to the left of the regiment and sent the Major towards the right; very soon he came back to me with his hand on his breast, looking pale as a corpse. I saw he had had a terrible shock of some sort. Pulling open his coat I did not see any blood; and the explanation was this: He had been carrying a little spy-glass—one of those with a round barrel that straightened out like a telescope—and was a great hand to poke about the skirmishing line with it, trying to find a rebel flag or battery. I said to him one day, 'Major, they will shoot you in the eye right through that durned thing while you are poking around that way.' Well, instead of its being the cause of his death, it actually saved him. A bullet had struck the brass eye-piece of the glass and been deflected, and it had not penetrated the skin at all. As soon as he saw he

was not hurt he laughed at himself, remounted his horse and went back to his place. He was gone but a few minutes when he came back to me all doubled up in a knot, apparently carrying his bowels in his hands. He was badly hurt, but still I could not see a drop of blood about him. It turned out that a fragment of a shell had glanced right across his stomach, bent the plate of his sword-belt, tore a rent in his blouse so large that you could put your hand through it, and all leaving only a black spot upon his body. I ordered him from the field."

Speaking of the battle of New Hope Church, Colonel Harrison is still of opinion that the fighting was as heavy as he was at any time, before or afterwards, subjected to. He was greatly obliged to the Wisconsin regiment that came up so gallantly to take his place, and feels regret that he is now unable to give its number.

HARRISON AT GILGAL CHURCH.

On the 29th of May, General Ward having been advanced to the command of the division in place of General Butterfield, Colonel Harrison became Chief of the 1st Brigade and continued such to the final muster out at the conclusion of the war.

A curious disposition of the American soldier is to name a battle after a church, if such a building happens to be in the vicinity of the field. So

it came about that the engagement of New Hope Church was presently followed by that of Gilgal Church, corrupted into *Golgotha*.

On the 15th of June, the 3d Division; still advancing to help keep the "grip" on Joe Johnston, crossed a small stream below Kemp's mill, on the road to Gilgal Church, leaving Lost Mountain a short distance to the right and west. The order of march had been with the right or 1st Brigade (Harrison's) in front. Suddenly the skirmishers, feeling their way in advance, struck a line of rebel works, just abandoned, on the left of the road. A halt was called to form for battle. The 2d and 3d Brigades took position in lines behind the 1st. On the right was the 23d Army Corps; on the left the remainder of the 20th Corps.

After a halt of two hours, occupied in getting the troops into position, Colonel Harrison was ordered to move forward. Crossing an open field, broken at right angles to his line, he gained a road beyond, and dislodged the enemy's skirmishers. Following them closely he came to a woods. On the further side of a ravine that partially obstructed the line the ground ascended, and became a ridge well covered with trees. There was a stubborn resistance by the Confederate skirmishers; but Harrison, allowing them no rest, pushed them back until a line of earthworks was disclosed not more than two hundred yards in his front. Then the clatter of small

arms was drowned in the roar of artillery. The fire, then begun, extended off to the right, involving the 23d Corps.

Colonel Harrison's advance was checked. His regiment stood to the work—an hour passed, then a second—not an inch of ground was yielded. The Colonel rode to and fro behind his fileclosers, with cool indifference to the plunging shot and shells. The strain was terrific. At last he reported his ammunition exhausted; whereupon Coburn, always ready to assist his fellow-townsman, rushed his brigade forward. Colonel Harrison's regiment retired, Coburn's went in. The exchange was done so orderly that there was no break in the front, and scarcely an interruption in the fire. The men of the 1st Brigade were fast becoming veterans. All the afternoon the struggle continued. Night fell at last and hid the combatants from each other. Thanks to the density of the woods the National loss was not so great as the commanders feared.

There was "coffee and hard-tack." Then the old resort to fortifying, which was continued unremittingly all night. When the sun began to light up the shorn forest the enemy, looking out of his embrasures and over the log coping of his breastworks, beheld an opposing line of fresh yellow earth thrown up within two hundred yards of him.

There the foemen stood watching each other

all through the 16th. That day the skirmishers had it to themselves.

On the 17th the Confederates stole away. At 5 o'clock in the evening the Nationals were in possession of the coveted works, which were of three lines, the first one capable of resisting heavy artillery. Its front was moreover garnished with stakes sharpened at the points and fixed firmly in the earth. A direct assault, though successful, would have been attended with dreadful loss.

HARRISON AT KENESAW.

Then came the great day at Kenesaw.

Preliminary to that, on the 22d of June, Sherman advanced his right wing, and there was fighting all along the line.

Ward's division, on the left of Williams', was, as usual, occupied in fortifying their ground. To cover the working parties a number of batteries had been, as a precaution, planted in position to sweep an open field along which any interruption must come. In the afternoon the men in the trenches were brought to a pause; leaning upon their picks and shovels they waited for what a sudden opening of the guns in their front portended. Out of the woods they saw long lines of the enemy, closely massed, entering the open field which has been mentioned. Their appearance was very martial; their battle-flags were all waving; their yelp sharp and continuous, and

their forward movement with determined step. In a moment it was discovered that the order of things was reversed; the Confederates were the assailants. Dropping their tools the brigades instantly formed to receive them; but, as the foe poured across the open field directly against Williams' division, Ward's soldiers were left spectators of the fight. Hardly had the first line of the gray assailants appeared in the open field when the batteries, as with one report, poured a volley into them. Presently musketry was added to grape and canister, and the range became point blank. Still they would not go back or even stop. All that brave men could do they did; but there is a limit to the purest courage; a point at which it too is overtaken by the impossible. That point was at length reached. There was a slowing of the advance first; then a halt; and then a letting go, as it were, and an indiscriminate rush for the protection of the woods. The open field when deserted was terribly spotted with the dead and wounded.

Such was Hood's assault in the battle known as Kulp's Hill. The Confederates halted at the edge of the woods, and all day the 3d Division stood to arms on the verge of a battle. At noon a general advance was ordered. The works, scarcely finished, were abandoned. Moving forward in column the three brigades crossed an open field. Directly the cry was again raised

"forward," with the addition of "double-quick." The open field was passed; the lines disappeared in the woods beyond it; still under the "double quick" they issued from the pine trees which had concealed them, and, unmindful of the close fire with which the enemy saluted them, pushed on to be at length halted in reserve. And from the elevated position they thus occupied they witnessed the battle of Kenesaw Mountain.

The troops the division was to support were deployed in extension of the grand line stretched like a blue ribbon along the foot of the famous mountain. Occasionally a shell would strike the earth or burst in air uncomfortably near him; yet aware that a grand attack was ready to be delivered against the enemy, Colonel Harrison, with some of his officers, stood out to see all of it that was to be seen.

Sherman's description of the topography of the field is singularly picturesque:

"Kenesaw, the bold and striking twin mountain, lay before us with a high range of chestnut hills trending off to the northeast, terminating to our view in another peak called Brushy Mountain. To our right was the smaller hill called Pine Mountain, and beyond it in the distance Lost Mountain. All these, though links in a continuous chain, present a sharp, conical appearance, prominent in the vast landscape that presents itself from any of the hills that abound in that

region. Kenesaw, Pine Mountain and Lost Mountain form a triangle; Pine Mountain the apex, and Kenesaw and Lost Mountains the base, covering perfectly the town of Marietta and the railroad back to the Chattahoochie."

The scene offered Colonel Harrison is not often given to men. The Nationals were well defined from one wing to the other, a distance of fully ten miles. The three armies were in order of battle—McPherson's, Thomas' and Schofield's. All the low lands appeared dressed in blue haze. The mountains looked down upon them, serenely unconscious of the preparations going on to make them historical forever.

There were in sight unnumbered battalions with their flags fluttering above them; squadrons of cavalry hidden behind knolls; parks of artillery on the low summits—all fronting the one way.

With the help of glasses, the group with Harrison could see the hill-top which had been cleared expressly to enable Sherman to overlook the operation. It arose in the rear and near the centre of Thomas' part of the line. Telegraph wires ran from it to the headquarters of his three subordinate chiefs.

The interest in the battle was greater because it was a deliberately planned assault upon fortified lines—"a thing," as Sherman says, "carefully avoided up to that time."

Artillery firing began at daybreak. About 8.30 it ceased, and there was silence below and on the heights. Near 9 o'clock Sherman appeared on his lookout. Then all at once a fire of musketry and great guns broke out, and speedily a whitish curtain was visible along the whole ten miles of front.

Instantly the positions of the Confederates were similarly curtained. The wind, sweeping up the mountain, spread the smoke from the replying guns over its broad face so that the details upon it, the rocks, the ravines, the patches of pine groves, looked as though they were rapidly fading out.

Then a column was discovered pushing out toward the lesser Kenesaw from McPherson. A mile further to the right a like column advanced from Thomas. A mighty cheer burst from the comrades left in waiting, after which they all held their breath.

McPherson's column could not make the summit at which it had been directed. Every step upward was contested—every inch, in fact. Thomas' gained the parapet—that was all. Toil as they might, fight as they well knew how, both assaults stopped short. Refusing to retire, however, the regiments fell to and built parapets for themselves within a few yards of the rebel trenches. McPherson's loss was in the hundreds, Thomas' up in the thousands; though they could

not take the heights, the Nationals nevertheless kept their "grip" all the same.

On the morning of the 3d of July Johnston had bidden old Kenesaw good bye. The fox was "off with the wind" again.

HARRISON AT PEACH TREE CREEK.

We have already remarked that Colonel Harrison and Colonel John Coburn were fellow-townspeople, Indianapolis being their place of residence. We have also spoken of the good will existing between them. We take great pleasure in repeating the fact because of the rivalry, in many instances jealousy, existing between officers, especially those from the same locality. We have now to observe another example of the kindly relations between the two.

On the 20th of July, the 3d Division (Ward's) crossed Peach Tree creek two or three miles north of Atlanta; on its left was Newton's division of the 4th Corps, and on its right Geary's division of the 20th Corps. The whole Army of the Cumberland had crossed the creek the evening before or that morning. The creek bottom on the south side was from two to three hundred yards wide; the creek itself was muddy and seemed in a state of freshet. It was found to be unfordable. The pioneers of the 1st and 2d Divisions had accordingly constructed a bridge some distance down for the passage of the 1st

and 2d Divisions, and they crossed it immediately after Newton's. The formation of the line was then begun, because everybody was aware that the enemy was in force just in front and might attack at any minute.

The position chosen was upon the top of a ridge 300 or 400 yards from the creek on the south. The 1st Division, by order, remained in the creek bottom on a line some 300 yards to the rear of the remainder of the army, leaving a gap perhaps a quarter or a third of a mile in width between Geary on the right and Newton. It was the expectation that this gap would be filled by Ward. Exactly why he was not moved to the top of the ridge so as to perfect the line is not now known; the surmise was that Hooker, under whose order he remained below, did not wish to expose them unnecessarily. For, while the troops on the right and left of the gap were in the woods, the gap itself was in an open field extending clear to the rebel lines in front. Ward formed on the flat near the creek, and in front of him, looking in the direction of the enemy, there was a knoll, beyond that a higher slope, south of which was the open field stretching, as has been said, to the lines of the enemy. A little stream in Ward's front, trickling to a junction with Peach Tree creek, afforded water for an old mill and the intersection of the creeks on the right was slightly overlooked by a bluff covered with corn.

nearly breast-high. In this position Harrison's brigade, like the others of his division, was resting, as the phrase goes, on arms; behind the musket-stacks some of the men were cooking and others sleeping. Occasionally a stray shot fired over the bluff would go whistling over the flat; but by this time the sound had become so familiar that little attention was paid to it. The cooks got their meals ready, the sleepers slept on.

Colonel Coburn, however, was restless and, wishing to see what was in front of him, rode to the top of the highest of the ridges. There he found a soldier by the name of Crist picking blackberries. He dismounted, and helped himself also. The bullets of the enemy's pickets pinged sometimes uncomfortably near. He warned Crist that if he stayed there he might get shot. Seeing all quiet apparently on the enemy's side, and the divisions on the right and left of the gap in place, and apparently at ease, Coburn returned to his camp below.

About the same time Harrison noticed some officers upon the edge of the same bluff, and wishing to see for himself the lay of things beyond, he too rode up to the summit, and found General Hooker there. The General was at the moment placing a battery in position; he recognized the Colonel and complimented him, saying that he liked to see an officer examine the field in advance of the fight. Upon his return, Harrison

extended his line far enough below his place on the height to fill it with the least delay. Then, at Coburn's suggestion, both brigades were moved forward from the flat to the little knoll in their front. There the men resumed their rest and their cooking.

It was not long until Crist, who had remained in the blackberry patch, came running over the larger crest and reported to Coburn that the whole rebel army was moving to attack. Coburn called his brigade to arms, mounted his horse, and rode in haste to report to Ward. On the way he stopped and notified Colonel Harrison of the appearance of things. Colonel Harrison called his brigade to arms also. Ward at first refused to believe the reported advance of the enemy, and said that Hooker's orders were for him to remain in the bottom where he was. Finally, however, he gave permission for Coburn and Harrison to move forward to the higher ridge. And, while they were in the act of doing so, the foremost line of the Confederates made its appearance. Colonel Harrison at once comprehended the danger. It was not merely that the higher ground was in possession of the enemy, but the gap in the Union line, a quarter of a mile in breadth, was also held by them. If they were quick to avail themselves of the advantage, the left of Newton's division and the right of Geary's were turned; and as a further result

the whole Army of the Cumberland was in exceeding great peril.

Hooker's order halting Ward's division in the creek bottom might consequently become a mistake with the most fatal consequences. In this emergency, without waiting for orders, Harrison gave command to his brigade, which, as we have already seen, was deployed, to forward double-quick. The rebels halted and opened fire. But without faltering Harrison led his line down the hollow before him, and began the ascent opposite. He was resolved, if the thing were possible, to push the enemy back, and form connection with Newton on his right. To succeed he of course depended upon quick support from Coburn and Wood, the latter in command of the 3d Brigade. Unmindful of the fire he made the ascent, though with loss, and closed with the enemy. Then upon the brow of the ridge a hand-to-hand encounter ensued, in which bayonets, clubbed muskets, and pistols were used, making the second instance of the kind within his experience. The men in the ranks were as keenly alive to the danger of the moment as their officers. They, too, possibly, saw the consequences of the mistake which had left them in the hollow. Probably officers were never better supported in the determination to do or die. So, when they came hand to hand with the enemy, being under the impetus of the charge, they were

irresistible. While the struggle was yet pending and in its full fury, Coburn, with his command, passed up the hill, and, entering the engagement, covered Harrison's exposed flank, and engaged the enemy along his whole front; then riding to Wood, who was standing at a halt, he suggested that he too advance up the hill. Wood replied at first that his orders were to stay where he was. But seeing the necessity he presently gave the order and, imitating the rush of the other brigades, left no cause of complaint with them.

In the flurry of the combat Colonel Harrison retained his mind perfectly. It happened that when the attack developed he had near one hundred men of a New York regiment in his front, detailed to help the skirmishers. They were specially selected because armed with Spencer repeating rifles. Time to return them to their command proper was too short. He cast about to make them useful, and seeing the old mill ordered them into it. They did excellent service there in aiding to hold the Confederates upon the brow of the hill while the brigades were rushing upward. Harrison says they held them stiff as ever he saw.

The battery which Hooker had put in position did well also. The guns grew burning hot while emptying grape and canister left-oblique into the enemy. At length the officer in charge withdrew them. As Harrison rode up the hill he met him retiring.

"What are you doing out here?" he asked.

"I am ordered to retire my battery to the rear of your division. Our right is broken," the other answered.

"Don't be afraid," said the Colonel. "I'll take care of your guns. Turn about and put them into action again."

And he did, returning to his first position.

Seeing the overlapping Confederates beginning to pour past his left he became fearful that that flank would be turned before Coburn could catch on to it, and sent his adjutant-general, Capt. Dunleary, of the 79th Ohio, to break some companies of the regiment on that extremity to the rear. The captain came back to him discouraged. "It's your regiment, the 70th," he said, "which should have been in reserve, but they have swung into the front line. I told the captain to reserve his left." He replied, "I can't see it. By God, I'm going to the top of the hill with the rest."*

It seemed at one time as if the division over on the right (Newton's) was broken. If so, Harrison's flank on that side would be swept away. That was the moment the battery limbered up to go to the rear, as has been stated. Its return to position reassured Newton's men, so that nobody ran away except the kitchen followers."

* Capt. Endsley (70th Indiana), now residing in Shelby county, Ind.

The 1st Brigade, with the gallant Coburn and Wood on its left, gained the hill-top. Harrison saw the crisis of the fight was come. Pushing his horse into the melee he called to his men. They recognized him, and rushed on. Presently the signs improved. He beheld the assailants falling fast; their line wavered; now and then their colors dropped, but, though picked up in a twinkling, they no longer made headway. Finally they gave way, and were whirled down the hill on their side. Then the same thing ensued along the whole engaged front—before Coburn and Wood and Newton.

It was Hood's first attempt to break up Sherman's tactics. The point of attack had been well chosen. Loring, of the Confederates, had seen the gap between Geary and Newton, and thought to push into it. Had he succeeded it is difficult to say what the consequences would have been. Behind the Union line ran the unfordable creek. Altogether there was but one thing to be done, and providentially that was done.

A good many prisoners were taken. Many more wounded men were picked up in the corn-field; some of them were not found until the next day. The sun was overhot to well men. What must it have been to the torn fellows athirst and fainting in the scant shade of the young corn?

In the afternoon Hooker went riding along the lines, and coming to Harrison he congratulated him after his bluff style.

"By God," he said, "I'll make you a brigadier-general for this fight!"

And he meant what he said, for he afterwards addressed a letter to Secretary Stanton, of which the following is a copy:

HEAD-QUARTERS NORTHERN DEPARTMENT,
CINCINNATI, OHIO, October 31, 1864.

HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War*:

I desire to call the attention of the department to the claims of Colonel Benjamin Harrison of the 70th Indiana Volunteers for promotion to the rank of Brigadier-General Volunteers.

Colonel Harrison first joined me in command of a brigade of Ward's division in Lookout Valley preparative to entering upon what is called the Campaign of Atlanta. My attention was first attracted to this young officer by the superior excellence of his brigade in discipline and instruction, the result of his labor, skill and devotion. With more foresight than I have witnessed in any officer of his experience, he seemed to act upon the principle that success depended upon the thorough preparation in discipline and esprit of his command for conflict, more than on any influence that could be exerted on the field itself, and when collision came his command vindicated his wisdom as much as his valor. In all of the achievements of the 20th Corps in that campaign Colonel Harrison bore a conspicuous part. At Resaca and Peach Tree Creek the conduct of himself and command was especially distinguished. Colonel Harrison is an officer of superior abilities, and of great professional and personal worth. It gives me great pleasure to commend him favorably to the Honorable Secretary, with the assurance that his preferment will be a just recognition of his services and martial accomplishments.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
JOSEPH HOOKER, *Major-General Commanding*.

HARRISON AT THE BATTLE OF NASHVILLE.

Sherman started from Chattanooga in pursuit of Joe Johnston on the 5th of May, 1864, and in the morning of the 2d of September following his army took possession of Atlanta. The telegram

announcing the capture reached Grant at City Point about 10 o'clock at night, and the rejoicing at head-quarters was loud and long. The good soldier sat silent some time; at last he turned to his adjutant-general, and said: "This is a great triumph, and we will honor it as we can. Send a telegram to the corps commanders in our lines here, and tell them to have all their guns loaded and shotted, and trained upon the enemy, and at 12 o'clock sharp open fire."

At 12 o'clock sharp the first gun was fired from Bermuda Hundreds; then all the others, five hundred at least, joined in "the loud acclaim." The Confederates, aroused and angry, took to their batteries, and replied, and as they would not quit, the sun came up on the great duel. Thus they, too, unconsciously united in the honors rendered.

Down at Atlanta the rejoicing was equally fervid, if not so noisy. Feeling that his troops had earned a rest, Sherman gave it to them. On his own part a new campaign was to be determined upon and arranged. A great many officers availed themselves of the opportunity to go home on furlough. About that time Colonel Harrison received an order of which the following is a copy.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

IN THE FIELD, ATLANTA, GA., September 12, 1864.

SPECIAL FIELD ORDERS, }
No. 71. } Extract.

III. Pursuant to instructions from the War Department the following

officers will report in person to Hon. O. P. Morton, Governor of Indiana, at Indianapolis, Indiana, for special duty. The Quartermaster's Department will furnish transportation.

By order of MAJ -GEN'L W. T. SHERMAN.

L. M. DAYTON, *Aide-de-Camp.*

COL. BEN. HARRISON,
70th Reg't Ind. Inf. Vol.

For two years Colonel Harrison had been continuously in the field, and, as the order afforded him an opportunity to visit his family in Indianapolis, it was accepted. Upon his arrival there he reported to Governor Morton, and then ascertained for the first time the character of the special duty awaiting him. In a few days he entered upon a systematic canvass of the State for recruits, who, greatly to the apprehension of the Governor, had been slow in offering themselves.

Upon the 9th of November, Colonel Harrison finished the canvass. Having in the meantime heard that Sherman's preparations were complete for the opening of a new campaign, he made haste to rejoin his command; and, but for the failure of a hack to make connection with a south-going train at Indianapolis, he would have reached Atlanta in time to have participated in the celebrated march to the sea, which was begun on the 15th of November. Taking the next train, however, he got as far on the journey as Dalton, Georgia, where, unfortunately, or fortunately, as the case may be, he found the railroad torn up, making further progress for the time impossible.

While at Dalton, he was ordered to report to General Charles Cruft at Chattanooga, and by him was put in command of troops of the 20th Army Corps cut off and assembled at that city. He found himself presently at the head of a brigade. Shortly afterwards, in imitation of Sherman's bold departure from Atlanta, for the sea, Hood swung around, and crossed the Tennessee river *en route* to the North; whereupon Colonel Harrison with his brigade was transferred to Nashville. There he was assigned to Cruft's division of Steadman's command, then holding the left of the defenses of the city. As an attack by Hood was imminent, the Colonel proceeded without loss of time to prepare for it. He erected a breastwork covering the entire front of his line. It became necessary, in course of the work, to cut across the yard of Judge Trimble, just outside that gentleman's kitchen. As the Judge was vacating his house Colonel Harrison waited upon him to express regrets; but the other took him into his library, and, opening a drawer, pulled out a very handsome bunting flag. "Have you a garrison flag?" he asked. The Colonel replied that he had not. "Then let me present you with this one. I have never been without the American flag in my house." And proceeding, he added, "Colonel, if it is necessary for the defense of Nashville, take the bottom brick in my house." Of that speech the Colonel remarked to the writer enthusias-

tically, "Well, I fought like a tiger for that man's land."

The days following were stirring enough. For, amongst other peculiarities, Steadman was never satisfied unless the enemy were stirred up every morning, and everything within eyesight sounded to know what it was.

While thus occupied, Harrison had an excellent opportunity to observe the colored troops. On one occasion Colonel T. J. Morgan, now living at Providence, Rhode Island, took his brigade composed entirely of negroes, deployed them as skirmishers, and, pushing them forward, drove the rebels out of their pits; by bugle call he brought them back with many prisoners. Their skill and courage made the affair a perfect demonstration. General Crust used to tell a story of them.

A colored soldier one day brought in a white prisoner, and being interrogated, he told the story of the capture. He said:

"I just cum up on him, and brought down my gun arter this like, and he knowed what it meant; he say,

"'Say, now, I can't surrender to a nigger. Dad would kill me when I go home; but you go back to de camp, and git a white sojer, and bring him out hyar, and I'll surrender to him.'

"'No,' I says, "'scuse me; I'se in a dre'ful hurry; jess come 'long.' And thar he is" (pointing to the prisoner); "I fotched him."

While the enemy was before the city, the very morning Thomas was to have moved out to attack him, a storm of snow and sleet came on. The earth turned to a sheet of ice, and remained so for some days. The suffering of the soldiery was intense; some of them actually died on the picket lines, and a great many were so bitten with frost that they never recovered. It is of this bitter spell that Mr. Richard M. Smock, of Indianapolis, tells his story.

"We were encamped near Nashville, and as all who were there at the time remember, it was one of the coldest winters on record. I remember that during one of the cold nights I was on picket, and I saw a man approaching from the direction of the officers' quarters. I halted him, and when he gave the countersign and advanced, I saw it was General (then Colonel) Harrison. He had a large can filled with hot coffee, and when I asked him what he was doing, he said he was afraid that some of the pickets would freeze to death, and he knew some hot coffee would help the men to keep alive. He was the most welcome visitor I ever met, for I really believe I would have frozen before morning had not the coffee been brought. After leaving me, the General passed on to all the other pickets to cheer them up with the beverage. His act was one of kindness. The men on duty were nearly all from his regiment, and his personal friendship for them induced him to get up out of

his comfortable quarters at dead of night, prepare that coffee and bring it to us."

General Grant in the East did not seem to appreciate the condition. To move artillery and cavalry was simply impossible. Instantly that the weather moderated, however, General Thomas put his army in motion. Harrison was in reserve, and as the battle was a splendid success from the beginning, he was but little engaged. After the fight the reserves were sent in pursuit.

With a view to reaching the Tennessee river before Hood, and cutting his pontoons and otherwise intercepting his retreat, Colonel Harrison was ordered to march to Murfreesboro, and there take trains and push forward with the utmost speed. He entered upon the duty with alacrity. From Murfreesboro southward the Confederates had burned all the wood piles and destroyed the water tanks. The delay thus caused was serious. An idea of the difficulties encountered may be formed from the resorts to which the pursuers were driven. Details of ax-men chopped up rails to feed the engine; at the creeks buckets were used to fill the tanks with water. Huntsville was at last reached. Then to gain the Tennessee river where boats were in waiting to ferry the column over it was necessary to take to the roads, which were often bottomless with mud. The streams had all to be crossed by wading. At the river the other side was found in possession of the rebels.

The crossing was effected in face of a hostile battery, after which the pursuit was continued to Decatur, and as far down as Courtland, Alabama. The cavalry below the former place succeeded in striking Hood's pontoon bridge and the rear of his army; but the infantry never caught sight of him. Thus furnishing another example of the futility of sending footmen to overtake horsemen.

Upon the recall of the pursuing column Colonel Harrison was ordered to report to General Sherman at Savannah. And while en route to New York he was taken down with scarlet fever. After several weeks of dangerous illness, over the objections of his physicians he took steamer for Savarinah.

In the meantime Sherman had proceeded on his way and was up in the Carolinas when Harrison reached Hilton Head. At Pocotaligo the latter was put in command of a brigade with which he soon joined Sherman at Goldsboro. There he resumed command of his old brigade of the 3d Division of the 20th Army Corps. There also he heard of the assassination of President Lincoln. Intelligence of the disclaimer of Sherman's negotiations with Johnston threw the army into yet greater excitement, and before Grant arrived at Goldsboro the truce agreed upon with Johnston having expired, Sherman started to attack him. With that object he made one day's march. Fortunately Grant effected a new arrange-

ment with Johnston and the contemplated battle was not fought. The army was then directed upon Washington. At Richmond it was halted for several days and preparations made for a review by General Hancock. Sherman, however, came up and declared the ceremony off. So that, as the corps went through Richmond they marched with arms at a right shoulder shift, without saluting anything but the American flag and the statue of George Washington.

At Washington Colonel Harrison and his command were put in camp near Bladensburg, whence they took part in the grand review which is the final reminiscence of the great rebellion.

Meantime Colonel Harrison received a promotion. The rank of Brigadier-General by brevet was conferred upon him. The commission is signed by Abraham Lincoln and countersigned by E. W. Stanton, Secretary of War. It is dated March 22, 1865, and states that it was given "for ability and manifest energy and gallantry in command of the brigade," and also that he was to rank as such Brevet Brigadier-General from the 23d day of January of the year mentioned. The certificate of discharge shows a muster out of the service of "Benjamin Harrison, Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General, 70th Regiment of Indiana Infantry Volunteers; that he was enrolled on the 7th day of August, 1862, to serve three years or during the war, and discharged on the

8th day of June, 1865, at Washington, D. C., by reason of General Order 77, Adjutant-General's office, 1865, and instructions, Adjutant-General's office, May 20, 1865."

Throughout the foregoing narrative of General Harrison's military services the writer has purposely refrained from expressions of opinion respecting them; it was greatly preferable, he thought, to present the circumstances, and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions from them. Probably no people in the world know better than Americans the qualities that enter into the composition of a soldier; none admire more such characteristics as courage, enterprise, persistence and judgment, without which, by universal agreement, there can be no perfect officer. But as every distinguished military man, like every distinguished citizen, has a personality, it is thought the following anecdotes may be as useful as they are interesting. Each of them, it will be observed, is referable to a person of known respectability; under them all lie glimpses of that part of a man not possible of clearer definition than his *moral qualities*. Under a rough exterior there may be a tender soul; on the other hand, mildness of manner is often a disguise. How shall we know our nearest neighbor except by what he does?

Mr. Richard M. Smock, from whom we have the instance already related of Harrison's carrying coffee to his men on picket, says further: "I re-

member that on the 14th of May, the day before the battle of Resaca, our regiment was ordered to advance through a strip of woodland which ended at the foot of a hill. On the brow of an opposite hill were the rebels, and the position we were ordered to take put us in direct range of their guns. We were subjected to a terrific fire, and as we could see no reason why we should occupy such an exposed position, many of us wanted to fall back. General Harrison was with us, on foot, at the head of the column, and he said we would obey orders and stay there, if we died. Our ranks were thinned by the bullets of the enemy, but we held our position, and General Harrison never left his advanced post."

Ex-County-Clerk M. G. McLain, a well-known soldier who lost his right arm at Resaca while following General Harrison's lead, says of him: "No man was dearer to the boys in the line than General Harrison, and it rose from one single element in the man's character—his determination to take the leading part in whatever he asked his men to do. I shall never forget the sight I had of him waving his sword and shouting in that shrill voice for which he was noted: 'Come on, boys!'" Continuing, he said: "One scene has always lived in my memory. Our old Chaplain, Allen, a man who was beloved by all the boys, and for whom almost every man in the regiment would have lost his life, conducted services on

Sunday, with General Garrison, then Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sam Merrill assisting. I have often heard General Garrison offer up the prayer for the boys' welfare and protection down there on those Southern fields, so far away from home, and many times have heard him address the boys in place of the chaplain. Never to my knowledge, in all the trying times of war, did I see one thing from him unbecoming a Christian. I think the battle-field and the camp bring out what there is in a man about as well as anything can, and I have seen General Garrison tested in every way. As a soldier, courageous, sympathetic and enduring, the army had no better."

Being asked about him as a disciplinarian Mr. McLain added: "Going out as he did, a civilian, and without any military training whatever, he became one of the closest students of the science and art of war there was in the army. As he does in everything else, he threw his whole heart into the work of making himself a proficient officer and his regiment a well-disciplined body of men. And he succeeded in an eminent degree in both instances. He was a very sympathetic man. Whenever a soldier was hurt in the discharge of his duty none was readier to offer sympathy than he. And as a result of this trait of his character, he always looked after the welfare of his regiment with scrupulous care. He never went to bed at night without knowing that the boys were going

to have as good a breakfast as could be secured in the morning. You may rest assured that these were favors that were appreciated."

William H. Cooper, of Minor & Cooper, grain dealers, Indianapolis, telling of General Harrison at Peach Tree Creek, says: "On the Atlanta campaign Harrison's regiment one day crossed a small bridge over a sluggish stream and advanced through an open field toward a neighboring crest. While they were in the field the pickets just over the hill came flying back, being driven in by the advance of the rebels in force. Harrison's regiment, and the others making up the brigade, pressed rapidly up toward the crest, and when they reached the top they met the enemy face to face. It was a fierce struggle to see who could hold the commanding position, and the fight became fierce and bloody, a hand-to-hand encounter in which soldiers on each side thrust bayonets and clubbed each other with muskets. In the midst of this I was sent back by the captain of my company to bring up a load of ammunition, the wagons being five or six hundred feet back towards the bridge. With me was Charley Jenkins, who now resides here. We went back, secured the ammunition, and were slowly toiling toward the front with the heavy load. Just at that time the rebels captured a battery on the Union right, and turned the guns on our men. It looked like disaster, indeed, and doubly so because the mule trains, close

in the rear of the troops, were filling up the road and clogging the bridge in a way that made a stampede imminent. Just then I saw General Harrison riding up and down right in front of the line, waving his sword and calling on the boys to stand their ground. Nothing but such an example on the part of the commander could have held the troops. They retook their battery, and prevented what looked at one time to be disaster and complete ruin."

Mr. Cooper also states that "While sick in the hospital at Gallatin, Tenn., General Harrison came and called on me, and in a few days, to my surprise, secured me a furlough and had me sent home. This was only one of many acts of kindness he was constantly doing for his men. No officer in the service was more thoughtful and considerate of his troops than General Harrison."

Captain P. S. Carson, of Southport, Ind., who commanded Company G, of the 70th Indiana Regiment, in the battle of Resaca, relates an incident of that fearful day: "The battle had closed, leaving Company G in possession of a captured battery, taken in the charge which the 70th led, and the report had gone back to headquarters that of the five killed in the company I was one, and of the twenty-two wounded that Dan Ransdell and Mose McLain were among the number. These men were personal friends of General Har-

rison, and he was greatly moved when the sad news came to him. Later in the evening he learned that I was unhurt, and he sent to me to come to headquarters. I went, and was met by General Harrison, who, with tears in his eyes, shook my hand and congratulated me on my escape, and tenderly inquired after the individual men in my company who were wounded. In every way possible he showed the deepest interest in the welfare of my soldiers. Hence I have always regarded him as a very sympathetic man. As a commander he was a strict disciplinarian, but he was always just; and this trait of character, together with his great bravery, made him a great favorite with all under him."

General John Coburn, of whom mention has been repeatedly made, speaking of General Harrison at Peach Tree Creek, says: "Line after line of rebels came over the ridge toward us. On the left of my brigade they met with no resistance until I rode to Colonel Woods and asked him to advance, which he did, losing very heavily and filling up the gap towards the 4th Corps. About this time Harrison and his men on our right rose up, and charged up hill with terrific power. My brigade was not slow to get up and rush forward. The rebels came down hill into and through our ranks pell-mell, dropping their arms and surrendering. Woods continued his advance on the left, and soon the ridge was ours. Harrison was

the personification of fiery valor, with voice and gesture urging on the furious charge. We could see the divisions on our right and left giving way in apparent confusion; a regiment was surprised on the right with their arms in the stack; a battery was captured, and, on the left, a host of fugitives scattered toward the rear. But our advance seemed to give them encouragement—they rallied and retook their lines. Our soldiers all got a supply of new Enfield rifles on the field; the gun-straps were not soiled. I never saw on any battle-field dead and wounded in such numbers and so close together. It was a complete surprise to us all. Hood had just that day taken command with orders to fight, and fight at once and all the time. Johnston, by his caution, had made us careless. We were not looking for such a mad rush. No man in the army that night stood higher than Harrison for heroism. Had he been a West Pointer his promotion would have been ordered by telegraph."

Mr. Daniel Watts, of Oregon City, was in the same brigade with General Harrison, and says of him: "You want to know about Harrison's career as a soldier? Well, I belonged to Company A of the 129th Illinois, under Colonel Case, and our regiment was stationed in the spring of 1864 near Chattanooga, and with the 105th and the 102d Illinois, the 79th Ohio, and the 70th Indiana, constituted the 1st Brigade of the 3d Division of the

20th Army Corps, with General Ward, of Kentucky, as brigade commander. Harrison was colonel of the 70th Indiana, and Fighting Joe Hooker had command of the Corps. In May we were encamped in a broken and hilly country. On Saturday the 4th Corps attacked a battery commanding the line of march that Sherman wished to make to Atlanta, and was repulsed. The following day the 1st Brigade, to which I belonged, was moved around into Snake Run gap to the side of a mountain, where we unslung knapsacks. On the mountain was the masked battery of four guns, before which, in intrenchments, lay the enemy in force, completely protected by their fortifications. General Ward gave the order to 'fix bayonets and charge.' As we marched up, five regiments strong, with fixed bayonets, the balls were so thick that I can compare them to nothing but a swarm of bees when they dive at you. Straight up hill we rushed with an Indian war-whoop, over the works and up to the guns without firing a shot. As the foremost man reached the battery one of the gunners was on the point of touching the match to a gun when he was run through with a bayonet by a soldier of the 102d Illinois and forced to the ground. So thick were we hemmed in by the gap that the discharge of that gun would probably have killed 500 of our men. This shows the cool bravery of those engaged on both sides. When we went

into the fort Colonel Harrison and Colonel Case of my own regiment went into the works with us. In taking the gap the brigade had pushed ahead of the body of the troops, and the Johnnies were enabled to surround the fort and hem us in, and they tried for hours to retake the battery. When Hooker saw the troops in that advanced position he said: 'There's a brigade gone to hell!' but from two o'clock in the afternoon till after midnight the colonels, in charge of the regiments and fighting with the soldiers, held the works against repeated desperate charges by the rebels. At 2 A. M. the Union line was advanced far enough to drive the enemy back, and in the morning the rebels were gone. Whilst in the fort we had to hug the fortifications mighty close, I tell you, for the bullets were as thick as hail. And when the Johnnies got too close, we would rise and give them a volley which would repulse them, then we would drop behind the breastwork. When the rebels saw they could not drive us from our position they fired the woods through which we had forced our way, and where the dead and wounded of both forces lay, burning over the field of battle where lay so many suffering men. My companion was shot from my side, and as he dropped I turned to him, but he said, 'Go on; don't stop for me,' and I passed along. The next day I found him with the clothes all burned off and the flesh of one side all roasted, and in places

crisp to the bone. It was a terrible sight, you may be sure. We were left to bury the dead of both sides.

"On the 20th, at Peach Tree Creek, we had been manoeuvring about in the valley during the forenoon, without knowing the object of our movements. At noon we stacked our arms, put out a skirmish line, and were busy at dinner, when we heard firing on the skirmish line, and their shouts for us to come on. Looking up, we saw them waving their caps for us to hasten. Springing to our arms, we rushed to their assistance, getting ready as we ran. I did not get my belt buckled till we were into the fight. The skirmish line joined our ranks, though not obliged to do so, and up the side of the hill we went. As we swung into an advanced position, through an opening in the trees we could see the rebs lying thick behind a rail-fence. Our regiment charged on their line and cleaned it out, but we lost 250 men in half an hour, so you may know we had hot work. In this fight Harrison, still a colonel, took the lead. As he swung himself into line not six feet from me he said: 'Come on, boys; we've never been licked yet, and we won't begin now. We haven't much ammunition, but if necessary we can give them the cold steel, and before we get licked we will club them down; so, come on.' And we went, glad to fight by the side of 'Little Ben,' who shirked nothing, and took just the same chance

of getting a bullet through the heart as we did. Not a soldier but liked Ben Harrison. Well, we won the day after a hard fight. For his bravery on that day Harrison was promoted at the special recommendation of General Hooker. But his promotion made no difference in the man. He was always the same." The foregoing is extracted from the *Oregon City Enterprise*.

Fred Hummel, who is a resident of Decatur, Ala., and formerly a soldier of the 79th Ohio, which was of General Harrison's brigade, writing of his old commander, says: "I believe it was twenty-four years ago that Dr. Jones and myself found him alone taking care of the poor wounded boys of his regiment that suffered so severely that day. With his coat off, and sleeves rolled up, he worked far after midnight, until every wounded man was attended to. This humane act of his will perhaps never be written in history, but it made a lifelong impression on my mind of his superior goodness and humanity, seldom found in men of his position and rank. God bless him."

The following, from the Boston *Transcript*, is from Rev. Edmund Muse, a Southern loyalist who was in the army with Harrison, though not in his command: "Harrison was celebrated among the officers of Sherman's army for his earnest religious nature. He had prayers in his tent at night and was a sincere Christian man."

Colonel Samuel Merrill, of Indianapolis, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 70th Regiment, now living in Indianapolis, says of him: "In the march he was merciful, protesting against unnecessary haste. Frequently he would take the guns and accoutrements of some poor worn-out fellows and carry them before him on the saddle. Often I have seen him dismount and walk, while a sick soldier occupied his place on the horse. Those who were ill in the field hospital testify that they were not forgotten by their kind commander, but that he was deeply interested in their recovery, constantly making inquiries as to their welfare and suggestions for their comfort. He protected the private soldier from imposition by those in authority, as a father would his own children. Once when we had been cut off from our supplies for a long time the men became so ragged that it was pitiful to see them. At last a partial stock was received by the quartermaster. Some of the officers appropriated the pantaloons to their own use. As soon as this was known General Harrison compelled these lordly fellows to strip and turn the clothing over to the rightful owners. If at any time he felt that he had wronged one, his sense of justice gave him no rest until he had repaired the injury. He did not have a code of morals to be observed at home and neglected abroad, but there was the same purity of conduct and conversation while a soldier in the field as

when a citizen going through the daily round of duties."

Captain H. A. Ford, according to the Detroit *Tribune*, says of Harrison: "I came to know him well. Indeed, I was indebted to his kind offices for the most interesting military association I had as adjutant and chief of staff to the celebrated Irish refugee, General Thomas Francis Meagher. Harrison was a thoroughly kind and good man, very popular with his command and a very large army acquaintance. He was an able and courageous officer, and I have no doubt that his prompt, well-directed action saved the day at Peach Tree Creek at a critical moment of the Atlanta campaign. But for him I think our army on that field would have been cut in two, and at least one wing of it rolled up and badly shattered. The first onset fell where Harrison was, and he, divining at once the character of the attack and the need of immediate resistance, came dashing down the hill on his splendid charger, riding down bodily a partly barred gate as he flew, and, without an instant's hesitancy for orders, moved his brigade to the top of a short but sharp slope, at whose foot it had been halted, and forward until the enemy was met, as he was almost at once. Other troops connected speedily on the right and left, and here the impetuous rebel advance was stayed once for all. But I have always felt that if it had had the advantage of a charge down

that slope upon our unprepared lines they would have been driven in hopeless disorder into and across the deep stream in our rear, and the battle would, in all probability, have been lost. Harrison was the hero of Peach Tree Creek, which made him a brigadier. He was the senior field officer in the brigade at the previous battle of Resaca, bore himself gallantly in one of the most desperate and deadly charges of history, that which captured the redoubt and four guns, and took command of the forces after General Ward had been wounded and retired from the field."

Mr. Arthur Deeter, of Terre Haute, carries in his body several buckshot received from a Confederate gun. The *Express* of that city furnishes the subjoined statement from Mr. Deeter: "He (Deeter) met General Harrison immediately after the battle of Nashville. He was lying in a fence corner, having been pierced by a ball from the enemy. An officer came along, and, seeing his condition, gave him a blanket to make him as comfortable as possible. He asked him how badly he was hurt and Deeter told him. The officer said: 'Then you will be sent to the hospital; you will need some money; here are twenty dollars,' and handed over the money. 'Who are you?' inquired Deeter. 'I am Ben Harrison.' The wounded man was taken to the hospital and recovered. Afterwards he participated in the Atlanta campaign, and was again wounded. He

never forgot Harrison's kindness. He was in Indianapolis a few years ago, and went into Senator Harrison's office, and handed him over twenty dollars, and said: 'I owe you twenty dollars.' And he proceeded to narrate the circumstance that occurred at Nashville. Harrison recalled the incident, and warmly greeted him. 'You don't owe me a cent; you keep the money. I will not have it. I did you a kindness, and I have been repaid amply by seeing you still alive,' said the Senator. The conversation was at once changed to war reminiscences."

Of a similar character is the following narration from Andrew A. Buchanan, formerly a sergeant of Company A, 70th Regiment Indiana Volunteer Infantry: "Seeing the report of Comrade Deeter in the *Journal* of the 16th instant, stating that General Harrison had found him on the field of battle a total stranger, but a seriously wounded, suffering comrade, and said to him, after inquiring about his wounds, and finding he must go to the hospital, 'You will need money; here are twenty dollars,' reminds me of his treatment of my brother, James M. Buchanan, who was Captain of Company D, 79th Regiment Indiana Volunteers, who was wounded in the battle of Chickamauga. I was notified by General Harrison (then Colonel Harrison) of my brother's condition, and ordered to report at his head-quarters. On my arrival, while only a sergeant, yet I found

he had one of his own horses saddled and bridled, that I might go to my brother at once. As I rode away, he said: 'Tell the captain I wont be long behind you.' I had only reached my brother's bedside when Colonel Harrison and Captain Harry Scott, our captain, arrived. Colonel Harrison came to my brother's cot, and after an earnest, cordial and sympathetic greeting he said: 'Captain, you are badly wounded, and must get home. You have been at the front, and, of course, have no money. Here are a hundred dollars; take it and get home.' This money enabled my brother to reach home and comfort. And yet there are men who say that General Harrison is cold and unsympathetic. But, thank God, we who served under him in the army, and witnessed his indomitable courage in battle, and his constant, considerate self-sacrificing care for his men, know that a baser falsehood was never uttered."

Other testimony to the same effect might be offered in abundance. But it is thought those here furnished are amply sufficient to satisfy any reasonable disinterested gentleman as to the points they severally and collectively cover.

With them we pass from the military portion of General Harrison's career.

CHAPTER V.

THE POLITICIAN.

THE best evidence of genuine popular liberty is the existence of political parties. They are in fact the organized expression of opinion permissible only in a state of freedom. Some years ago the Sultan of Turkey called to Constantinople a kind of States-General. He made elaborate preparations for the sessions. Representative of nobody, the members met by his *iradé* or decree. Within ten days they began to talk; in the third week differences of opinion were developed; about the end of the first month he sent them all home. It did not consist with his government that a subject should think aloud. He was more than the majority in the empire. He could afford to tolerate but one speaker and one party—himself.

English history long ago established that, though the utmost freedom may prevail, a political party cannot be manufactured, like a barrel, a loom or a boat. American history confirms the experience, and more—we now know that such a party cannot succeed upon a question of morals purely and singly. The party must be a necessity of

politics, which are as distinguishable from morals as the first letter of the alphabet is distinguishable from the last. This is not saying that there should not be good morals in politics; it is saying that political parties are the natural output of political conditions.

All the great parties known to American history prove this—the Federal, the Democratic, the Whig, the Republican, all prove it. In their days almost numberless organizations in opposition to them singly and collectively have been attempted; such, amongst others, were the Anti-Whiskey party, that culminated in the administration of Washington, the Anti-Federation party, which fell to pieces in the Hartford Convention, the Anti-Masonic party, the American party, the Know-Nothing party. Each died, and died early, in instances because there was but the beveled edge of a plank for them to live upon; more plainly, because there was no necessity for them.

Probably the very finest illustration of the philosophy of the origin of political parties in the United States is furnished by the Republican party. The idea is very common that it was a graft upon the stalk of the Whig party. Few things are more untrue. Let us see.

On the 8th day of August, 1846, one David Wilmot, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, moved a proviso to a pending bill, affirming it “an express and fundamental condition to the

acquisition of any territory from Mexico, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist therein."

This was the entering wedge between the North and the South. Both the Democratic and Whig parties opposed it in their national conventions, and of *that* opposition the Whig party died effectually and forever. The Democratic party survived because both parties in the South united against the proviso. The "Solid South" of to-day is absolutely referable to that union. On the other hand, the North divided upon the issue. There the slavery question became the sole question. Should the Territories be Free or Slave? Such was its form. Men opposed to the extension of slavery—Barnburners, Anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats, Abolitionists—refused to trust the Whig leaders longer. General Taylor was elected; but his tomb is the tomb of his party. His inaugural recommendation that California be admitted with her free Constitution had not enough of saving grace in it. The South grew more solid than ever. Compromises only intensified the dispute. In 1852 out of a total of 296 electors General Scott, the Whig candidate for the Presidency, received but 42. The triumph of the Democracy meant the extension of slavery.

There was but one resort to stop the consummation of the crime—a New Party—and straightway all differences were smothered. A fusion

took place, out of which—out of the necessity of the hour, the necessity of saving the Territories to Freedom—the Republican party was born.

It is fair to observe next that, contrary to a growing idea, the Republican party did not propose the abolition of slavery, in the sense of interference with it in the States of which it was *then* an existing institution. With a just appreciation of the necessity calling them to organize, the delegates of the first nominating convention, held at Philadelphia June 17, 1856, Colonel Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, presiding, resolved, “that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it, for the purpose of establishing slavery in any Territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting its existence and extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any *Territory of the United States*, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.”

They also *resolved*, “That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government; and that, in the exercise of this power, it

is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit *in the Territories* those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy and Slavery."

That Abolitionists took part in the Philadelphia convention is undeniable, but that the party then and there representatively assembled was an Abolition party is equally untrue. Its design was the prevention of Slavery in the Territories, not its abolition in the States already Slave.

The Second National Republican Convention for nomination assembled at Chicago, Ill., May 16, 1860. The party had by that time advanced from its experimental condition, wherefore the first clause of its platform—"That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and *necessity* of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party; and that *the causes which called it into existence* are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph."

In those four years a new necessity for the Republican party had arisen. The Democratic party hastened in 1846 to maintain the Southern assertion that the Territories belonged to all the States, and that by virtue of that right owners of slaves from the slave States had a constitutional right to remove with their slaves to the Territories, and be protected in the enjoyment of their *property* therein. This declaration of principle

by the leading Democratic Convention of 1860 (held at the Maryland Institute, Baltimore, June 28th), perfected the joinder of issue between the Republican party and the Democratic party.

The Popular Sovereignty doctrine of Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, had been already done to death by the passage in the Senate of the United States of the famous resolution—"That neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature, whether by direct legislation or legislation of an indirect and unfriendly character, possesses power to annul or impair the constitutional right of any citizen of the United States to take his slave property into the common Territories, and there hold and enjoy the same while the territorial condition remains."

The resolution derived effect from its passage by a majority of thirty-five yeas to twenty-one nays, all the Democratic senators present voting for it but one.

The new necessity for the Republican party is presented in the third clause of the platform adopted at the Chicago Convention: "3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation in wealth, its happiness at home, and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for Disunion, come from whatever source they may."

The result was that, as early as 1860, the eighth year of its existence as an organization, the Republican party was the champion of the Union as against all comers whatsoever. On the flag it bore in the canvass of 1860 was the double inscription—FREE TERRITORIES AND THE UNION. And Abraham Lincoln was chosen President to execute those principles, then distinctively Republican. Be it remembered also that as principles, they had one chief opponent—the Democratic party. And, in the way of special application, be it further remembered that, in common with the National soldiery, constituting the noblest army the world ever saw, in arms the most capable, to principle the most devoted, the military services of Benjamin Harrison which we have tried to describe were rendered.

Continuing the history—

Secession followed the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency—then a distinctive Southern government—then war. And the Union would certainly have been destroyed but for Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party.

It may not be said that the armies that fought for the Union were all Republican. There were thousands of Democrats, with whom love of country was more potent than party affiliations on the one hand, or party prejudices on the other—thousands of them to range themselves under the old flag and share its triumphs and defeats.

Nevertheless the responsibility of the struggle was upon the Republicans; a Republican President undertook the enforcement of the laws; the ways and means to assist him were discovered by Republicans; financial affairs during the period were administered by Republican officials, and money voted by a Republican majority in Congress to feed, clothe and pay the soldiers. When a Democratic National Convention solemnly resolved the war a failure, the Republicans answered by re-electing Mr. Lincoln. At last the end came, and there was great glory, and the historian of the future, having to pronounce upon the subject, will give it all to the Republican party.

The reconstruction consequent upon the return of peace was complicated by questions of infinite gravity. What, under the Constitution, was the status of the States which had gone into secession? What treatment should be accorded those who had been captured arms in hand? What the policy to be pursued toward the millions of slaves who had been the innocent cause of the struggle? The debt accumulated had to be provided for—but how? The maimed and disabled living soldier and his family, and the orphans and widows of the dead—impoverished and helpless—called for the most tender care. Many of these questions were settled, some by generous laws, others by constitutional amendments. The burthen of this settlement fell upon Republican representatives.

Whether the policy pursued by them was wise or unwise, it was founded in justice, and upon a recognition of the rights of men. That not a drop of blood was shed in expiation of a treason of such magnitude and cost in blood and treasure, is an example of Christian charity the like of which is unknown in the history of governments. During the pendency of the issues of reconstruction, General Garrison, as a citizen, made many speeches, all in harmony with the settlement as it was finally arranged. It is not possible to recall or quote a sentence or a word from any one of them which is in the least vindictive. Treating of the Confederate soldier, he was respectful and forgiving. The manumitted negroes were with him objects of compassion and sympathy, who were to be led up out of the depths of slavery by the hand gently, kindly, patiently, as prisoners long unused to light are led out of rough and darkened cells.

There were a few questions upon which the Republican party took side in its earliest platforms which remained unsettled through the war, and are yet bones of party contention. Such were the sale of the public lands to actual settlers, and a proper policy for providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports.

Besides that, some of the issues supposed to have been finally and forever settled in course of the reconstruction, have arisen in new forms to

vex statesmen of the present. These pertain largely to civil rights and pensions.

Others exist that are entirely new, such as limitations to immigration, education, adjustments between capital and labor, coast defenses, the rehabilitation of the navy, the forfeiture to the general government of lands donated in aid of railroads, the distribution of the surplus accumulated in the national treasury, the currency, the gross disfranchisement of colored voters in certain of the Southern States, the admission of Territories into the Union, etc. Upon most, if not all, these questions General Harrison has had occasion in the course of his political life to define his position ; and a biography of him would be inex-
cusably imperfect if it failed to give the reader a view of his opinions in the connection.

Before taking them up, however, a narrative of his political life is logically due.

General Harrison began as a stump speaker under circumstances that were not very exciting. His first essay was in nowise distinguishable from the first essays of young men generally. Unknown as he was he could hardly expect great audiences. In 1855 his law partner, Mr. William Wallace, being a candidate for clerk of Marion county, he took to the stump to help him. The first meeting he addressed was at Acton, on the line of the Big Four Road, better known as the road from Cincinnati to Indianapolis. The depot

building, with the narrow platform such as were common in those days, was made available for the purpose. He stood on the railroad track between the rails, while his audience—fifteen or twenty persons in all—occupied the platform. Neither does it appear that he complained of want of attention, or of want of preparation for his own accommodation or that of his hearers; and as to that, the “crowd,” in point of numbers, was quite satisfactory to him.

His efforts brought him reputation, for in the same year a gentleman by the name of Campbell, then a Republican candidate for clerk in Shelby county, invited him to go down and do some stumping for him. It is reported that he had a good many good meetings there. And not long afterwards, in the same county, he had a joint discussion with Mr. Martin M. Ray, who was on the other side of politics, and subsequently acquired considerable reputation as a debater and orator.

In 1856 the Fremont campaign came on. There was much political excitement. The election of a President of the United States furnished a broader theme to an ambitious speaker than the election of a county clerk. The news having reached Indianapolis of the nomination of the great “Pathfinder,” the Republicans of the city turned out spontaneously to ratify it. There was no programme for the affair. The speakers were such as could be reached upon the spur of the moment.

General Harrison was one of those impressed into service for the occasion. He was in his law office at night after supper, doing some work, when W. W. Roberts, a druggist of the city, and some other gentlemen, came in and said that they were having a ratification meeting at the old Bee Hive corner, and that he must come and make a speech. He said he would not go; he did not know what to say, it was all so sudden. But they insisted, and finally picked him up—he was not very heavy in those days—put their arms about him, bore him down-stairs, and kept on with him, his feet never touching the ground, until they put him on a store box that had been rolled out into the street at the corner. Upon readjusting himself after the unceremonious shaking up, he found himself surrounded by a crowd of three or four hundred people. There was no way out of the affair but to speak; accepting the situation, he proceeded and did his best. That the speech was a success, and brought him reputation and friends, may be inferred from the fact that in the same campaign he was first in demand in the school-houses through the country. Indeed, as a speaker, he was from that time a general favorite.

As we have seen in the chapter relating to him as a lawyer, General Harrison was in 1860 nominated for Reporter of the Supreme Court. Thereupon, of course, he was inducted into a broader field and entered upon a canvass of the State.

With Colonel Cyrus M. Allen, of Vincennes, a nominee for Congress, he worked what is known as the "Pocket" district thoroughly. The political feeling was intense, and it is said that in some of the Democratic counties the question whether Republican meetings should be allowed at all was quite serious. His stumping in company with Mr. Fletcher, Republican candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction, has also been mentioned; while his joint meeting with Mr. Hendricks at Rockville has been described with particularity. So, too, the reader will remember General Harrison's renomination for Reporter of the Supreme Court and his re-election in 1864.

Three years afterwards, however, finding that he would either have to abandon his profession or the office which he was holding, he declined a renomination. He took part nevertheless in the campaigns of 1868 and 1872, familiarly known as the Grant campaigns. In both those years as a speaker he travelled all over the State addressing large audiences.

The election of 1876 was inaugurated in Indiana under peculiar circumstances. Many influential Republicans in the State insisted personally and by letter that General Harrison should allow his name to go on the ticket for Governor; but to all such overtures he gave one answer, positively declining the honor. His

private affairs were such that he did not consider it advisable to take the candidacy. The Hon. Godlove S. Orth was nominated, and some opposition having developed itself that gentleman withdrew from the race pending the canvass, leaving the Republican ticket without a head.

General Harrison, supposing the matter settled, went away for a rest. He betook himself to the north shore of Lake Superior, and there, beyond the reach of mail or telegraphic communication, engaged in the pleasanter occupation of fishing for trout. He knew nothing of what was going on in politics at home until, on his return, he reached Mackinaw. There in a Chicago paper several days old he read of Mr. Orth's withdrawal. Upon getting to Fort Wayne he was apprised by telegraph that the Central Committee had substituted him in Mr. Orth's place. A large delegation met him at Muncie to urge acceptance upon him. In Indianapolis a still larger crowd was assembled at the depot to receive him and escort him to his house. Governor Porter made a speech on the steps of his house, pressing upon him that if he declined, and the Committee had to resort to another substitution, the canvass which was then on would be utterly demoralized; on the other hand it was thought he might be able to save the State for Hayes, the Republican candidate for the Presidency. Altogether, seeing no way to refuse the solicitation of the party, he acceded to it.

After a few days of preparation he made the opening speech at Danville on the 18th of August, and then gave his whole time to the campaign. The State elections, it will be remembered, were held in October. Having gotten so late a start he had no time to give attention to the matter of organization. The work on the stump occupied him exclusively. The meetings at which he was received were extraordinary in number and zeal. The displays and demonstrations, not to speak of the intelligence of the people who took part in them, have never been surpassed in the State. There was one at Rockville, the county town in which he held his debate with Mr. Hendricks some years before, which was particularly interesting. Senator Hale was his associate speaker. The people met them at the depot with a four-horse barouche, and drove them to the courthouse. Across one of the streets a rope had been stretched with a little girl in a basket suspended from it, and as they passed she was lowered and filled the carriage bed with flowers. Mr. Hale was delighted with the ovation, and taking the meeting as a fair illustration of the popular feeling he had no doubt that the State would go Republican. A short time before the election, however, a horde of Baltimore plug-uglies were distributed through the districts, and Mr. Barnum began his wholesale purchase of mules. The effect was disastrous.

This was the contest well remembered in Indiana between General Harrison and the Hon. James D. Williams, of Knox county. It was out of a comparison of the two in the matter of personal appearance that the former had fixed upon him the reputation for blue blood and kid gloves which in certain quarters still serves as a rallying cry against him. He was not then, is not now, and had really never been extreme in his ideas of dress. On the contrary he was habitually somewhat negligent in that respect. It is true he affected clean shirts when he could get them, not so much for the sake of appearance as for comfort. He was addicted to the use of a broad-brimmed slouch hat, and he did not stay at home because his boots were not blacked. His clothes were of good material, but plainly cut and made. He wore no jewelry on finger or shirt front. He combed his hair at least once a day, and thought he violated no canon of propriety by brushing his teeth in the morning. If his shoulders became dusty it did not mortify him. In short he was in attire, appearance and manners what is accepted by the world as a genuine, hearty, unaffected gentleman.

The force of the comparison alluded to would be utterly lost without a description of his opponent. The reader is asked to imagine a gentleman of probably sixty years of age, who in general outward appearance bore a striking resem-

blance to Abraham Lincoln. He probably exceeded Mr. Lincoln in height, but like him was large handed, with feet in proportion, and ungainly and awkward, but with a pleasant voice and a look of infinite good nature. He wore during the canvass a "stove-pipe" hat, very tall, and so worn that there was no trace of silk left on it. Mud, wind and weather had stained it the color of tobacco juice. His shirt collar, through the sweat of the labor he had undergone, was disposed to crawl down and hide beneath the old-fashioned stock, which was itself frayed around the edges and otherwise much the worse of the wear. Out of the stock projected a neck very long, very red and marked with an unusually protuberant "Adam's apple." In token of the confidence the people of his county reposed in his integrity he had represented them in the Legislature for a great many years; and during the time appeared invariably in a suit of home-made or domestic jeans such as is popular to this day amongst the mountaineers of Kentucky. But as Mr. Lincoln could never find a merchant tailor artistic enough to fit him, neither could "Uncle Jimmy Williams." Sitting or standing his *tout-ensemble* was that of a lay figure or wooden man. His shoes were of the coarsest, and when he sat his foot down the number of superficial inches it covered was extraordinary. His occupation was that of a farmer; and it is said that in plowing he could always do

a better job and made a neater furrow if barefooted. It is very doubtful if ever in his life he covered his large honest hands with anything more graceful than a mitten.

It must not be understood that we are speaking derisively; indeed, it would be very unjust from the description given to infer that Governor Williams was wanting in ability. He possessed a rare stock of good, sound, practical, common sense, which served him well in lieu of a college education. Like Mr. Lincoln, he had the knack of knowing men. Conscious of a lack of grace in his physique, instead of allowing it to make him misanthropic and sour, he accepted it, in good part, and actually converted it to his advantage. Without pretension of any sort, his walk was such that, though political enemies sneered at him as "Blue Jeans" Williams, not one of them ever dared deny that he was a good man, honest and faithful in all his relations. His flower of life, as he saw it, was his primitive, Jacksonian Democracy. Such a man could not help being popular.

In the contest to which we have adverted he made his good sense manifest by avoiding joint discussions. Throughout the canvass it was his custom to be present promptly at the hour appointed for the meeting, wherever that might be. Knowing his inability to speak, he occupied the attention of the audience but a few minutes, concluding with a smile, and the declaration, "Now,

I will give place to a more abler man." Whereupon the Hon. Daniel W. Voorhees would arise, and deliver the speech of the occasion.

From these attempts at description, the reader can readily discern how General Harrison might become known as "the man in kid gloves," although there was nothing in his habits of life to justify the epithet.

The result of the election was unfavorable to him; but, in saying this, it is to be remembered that he ran very handsomely ahead of the rest of his ticket. The following, taken from the *New York Sun*, shows the comparative vote received by the Republican candidates in the year 1876, and sufficiently explains his defeat, without imputing it to fine clothes in the one case or backwoods apparel in the other:

This was the vote on the Republican side:

Harrison, for Governor,	208,080
Robertson, for Lieutenant-Governor,	206,641
Watts, for Secretary of State,	206,774
Herriott, for Treasurer,	206,197
Hess, for Auditor,	206,774
Smith, for School Inspector,	205,322

It would seem from this that in 1876 General Harrison, despite the disadvantages under which he ran, was in that year about two thousand votes stronger than the rest of his colleagues on the ticket. Thirteen Congressmen were voted for on the same day that the Governor was elected, and the combined vote of these on the Re-

publican side was 204,419, so that from this comparison it would seem clear that General Harrison was from three to four thousand votes stronger than the Republican organization in the State at that time. His own county—Marion—which includes the city of Indianapolis, gave him a majority of 1600. He carried Vanderburg county, which includes the city of Evansville, and Tippecanoe county, which includes the city of Lafayette. He was beaten by a plurality of 5084, in a total vote of 434,457. There was that year a Greenback vote of 13,000, most of it drawn from Republican ranks.

In the opinion of the writer the perfect solution of General Harrison's defeat is exposed in the last sentence of the extract quoted; and it is but just to add that during the entire campaign he never alluded to his opponent, and was not in any way responsible for the "Blue Jeans" talk of the day.

It has been said that the defeat was followed by loss of prestige with his party. Far from that, two years later he was called upon to preside over the State Convention, and in 1880 we find him in the National Convention at Chicago, chairman of the delegation from Indiana.

In the latter assemblage, after some thirty ballotings, it became apparent that Mr. Blaine, who had been steadily receiving the support of the Indiana representatives, could not succeed. About that time a well-known Wisconsin delegate came to General Harrison and asked what he could rely upon if the Washburne vote were turned over to General Garfield. A hurried canvass was

had, and assurances given that Indiana would back the change ; whereupon it was effected. Wisconsin cast her eighteen votes for Garfield, and on the next roll call Indiana gave him twenty-seven of her thirty votes, two going to Blaine, and one to Grant. Next ballot, Indiana gave Garfield twenty-nine votes, and he was nominated.

In that early period there were delegates to the Convention who insisted on using General Harrison's name for the first nomination, but he resolutely declined.

In 1884 he again represented his State as delegate-at-large, and he was again discussed in connection with the nomination for the first place on the National ticket.

In the Garfield campaign, it is to be added, that he was invited to accompany that gentleman in his trip to New York. Accepting the invitation, he assisted in the speech-making at the several stations along the route. In further evidence of the esteem in which he was held by President Garfield, he was offered a place in the Cabinet, but the honor was declined on the ground that he was quite unfamiliar with public affairs at Washington ; that he had just been elected to the United States Senate, which was a place where he could learn by listening before he was compelled to incur responsibility in any way. Mr. Garfield concluded his argument on the occasion by saying, somewhat sadly : "That, back

in the days of Clay and Webster, no public man hesitated to leave the Senate or the House for a seat in the Cabinet, but now it was the reverse. He feared the change was attributable to the fact that the business of the government had grown so much that Cabinet positions had become slavish offices."

General Harrison participated actively in the campaign of 1880, and distinguished himself particularly by a speech in answer to one by Mr. Hendricks, in which the latter gentleman had attacked President Garfield for going on the Electoral Commission after having, as Mr. Hendricks charged, previously expressed an opinion on the question. The accusation was more partisan than wise, because every member of the Commission of both parties, except the Judges, who held the balance of power, was supposed to have given an expression of opinion in the course of the debates upon the subject.

When the election was over, and the Republicans had a majority on joint ballot, General Harrison became a candidate for the United States Senate, and was unanimously chosen. He held the place the six years to the perfect satisfaction of his party, and would have been re-elected but for the Democratic revolution inaugurated in the State Senate by Mr. Green Smith. The particulars of that shameful affair have been given in the remarks explanatory of the speech in the Lieu-

tenant-Governor's case. With the respect of his political enemies, and the unabated confidence of his party, General Harrison retired to his law office and engaged once more in his profession. While there he was called to the higher honor of a Presidential candidacy.

The National Republican Convention assembled in Chicago, Ill., on the 19th day of June, 1888. The preparations to house it in the Exposition building were extremely elaborate and successful. Nothing of the kind, more magnificent and yet tasteful, had been seen on the continent. One so fortunate as to have been admitted to the vast interior during a day session will never forget the impression wrought upon him, while the scene at night, under the flood of brilliance that filled it, is simply defia.r.t of description. To say that the city distinguished itself in the arrangements, the finish and the decorations, is saying much in little. Her matchless audacity of enterprise was probably never better illustrated.

The Convention is too recent of occurrence to require a detailed account of its proceedings, even if the space permissible in this volume would allow it.

Hon. John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, was chosen temporary chairman, and Hon. M. M. Estee, of California, permanent chairman.

The candidates for the Presidential nomination were numerous, all amongst the foremost men of

the party in the nation. Upon their individual merits it would have been impossible to have gone amiss. There was, in fact, no room for difference in choice, except upon the ground of expediency.

There were in all eight ballots taken by the Convention for the Presidential nomination, of which the first is given to show chiefly a list of the gentlemen voted for and the vote in tabulation by which General Harrison was nominated.

FIRST BALLOT.

Russel A. Alger	.	.	.	.	.	84
William B. Allison	.	.	.	.	.	72
Chauncey M. Depew	.	.	.	.	.	99
Edwin Fitler	.	.	.	.	.	24
Walter Q. Gresham	.	.	.	.	.	111
Benjamin Harrison	.	.	.	.	.	83
Joseph R. Hawley	.	.	.	.	.	13
John J. Ingalls	.	.	.	.	.	25
W. W. Phelps	.	.	.	.	.	25
Jeremiah Rusk	.	.	.	.	.	25
John Sherman	.	.	.	.	.	225
James G. Blaine	.	.	.	.	.	35
Robert Lincoln	.	.	.	.	.	3
William McKinley, Jr.	.	.	.	.	.	2

As the balloting proceeded other names were added to the list:

On the third ballot Warner Miller received 2 votes.

On the fourth, Fred Douglas and Governor Foraker each received 1 vote.

On the sixth, Fred Grant received 1 vote.

On the seventh, Creed Haymond received 1 vote.

So, in course of the balloting, certain of the candidates withdrew or were withdrawn by authority: of the former was Mr. Depew; of the latter were Mr. Blaine, Mr. Allison and Mr. Rusk.

The eighth and decisive ballot was as follows:

McKinley	.	.	.	.	.	.	4 votes.
Sherman	.	.	.	.	.	.	118 "
Gresham	.	.	.	.	.	.	59 "
Blaine	.	.	.	.	.	.	5 "
Alger	.	.	.	.	.	.	100 "
Harrison	.	.	.	.	.	.	544 "

The nomination was of course made unanimous.

The balloting for a Vice-Presidential candidate was entered upon immediately that order was restored and the nominations were made. There was but one ballot:

William Walter Phelps	.	.	.	.	.	119 votes.
B. K. Bruce	.	.	.	.	.	11 "
Wm. O. Bradley	.	.	.	.	.	103 "
Thomas	.	.	.	.	.	1 "
Levi P. Morton	.	.	.	.	.	59 " "

William R. Moore was put in nomination, but withdrew his name before the roll was called.

Pursuant to the time-honored custom, a Committee of one from each State was appointed to

inform General Harrison and Mr. Morton of their nominations.

The Committee waited upon the General at his residence in Indianapolis on the 4th of July.

There were present of that body as follows:

The Chairman, Mr. Estee, of California; Colonel George Denny, of Kentucky; ex-Governor Charles Foster, of Ohio; H. C. Payne, of Wisconsin; H. L. Alden, of Kansas; General Reeder, of Pennsylvania; D. C. Pearson, North Carolina; C. H. Terrell, Texas; Governor P. C. Cheney, New Hampshire; Hon. F. P. Mays, Oregon; Colonel S. H. Allen, Maine; Hon. William Marine, Maryland; R. A. Norval, Nebraska; A. H. Hendrick, Alabama; Captain John C. Daugherty, Tennessee; Logan H. Root, Arkansas; W. W. Brown, Georgia; Thomas Scott, Illinois; W. McPherson, Michigan; R. B. Langdon, Minnesota; James N. Huston, Indiana.

To the very appropriate and happily worded speech of Mr. Estee, Chairman of the Committee, General Harrison replied:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:—The official notice which you have brought of the nomination conferred upon me by the Republican National Convention, recently in session in Chicago, excites emotions of a profound, though of a somewhat conflicting character. That after full deliberation and free consultation, the representatives of the Republican party of the United States should have concluded that the great principles enunciated in the platform adopted by the Con-

vention could be in some measure safely confided to my care, is an honor of which I am deeply sensible and for which I am very grateful. I do not assume or believe that this choice implies that the Convention found in me any pre-eminent fitness, or exceptional fidelity to the principles of government to which we are mutually pledged. My satisfaction with the result would be altogether spoiled if that result had been reached by any unworthy methods, or by a disparagement of the more eminent men who divided with me the suffrages of the Convention. I accept the nomination with so deep a sense of the dignity of the office and of the gravity of its duties and responsibilities as altogether to exclude any feeling of exultation or pride. The principles of government and the practices in administration upon which issues are now fortunately so clearly made, are so important in their relations to the national and individual prosperity that we may expect an unusual popular interest in the campaign. Relying wholly upon the considerate judgment of our fellow-citizens and the gracious favor of God, we will confidently submit our cause to the arbitrament of a free ballot.

The day you have chosen for this visit suggests no thoughts that are not in harmony with the occasion. The Republican party has walked in the light of the Declaration of Independence. It has lifted the shaft of patriotism upon the foundation laid at Bunker Hill. It has made the more perfect Union secure by making all men free. Washington and Lincoln, Yorktown and Appomattox, the Declaration of Independence and the Proclamation of Emancipation, are naturally and worthily associated with our thoughts to-day.

As soon as may be possible, I shall, by letter, communicate to your Chairman a more formal acceptance of the nomination, but it may be proper for me to say now that I have already examined the pltform with some care, and that its declarations, to some of which your Chairman has alluded, are in harmony with my views.

It gives me pleasure, gentlemen, to receive you in my

home and to thank you for the cordial manner in which you have conveyed the official message.

Needless to say here that General Harrison's speech was received with great satisfaction by the party throughout the country.

We had seen General Harrison as Student, as Lawyer, and as Soldier; we were also informed of his political career down to the present; but now the interest in him was not merely of concern to his fellow-citizens of Indiana; now the people of the whole country demanded to know, in the first place, if he had a record upon the living issues of the day; and, secondly, what that record was. Such we assume is the great difference between being a candidate for the Governorship of a State, and a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

General Harrison had a record upon nearly, if not quite, every topic that might be raised in the canvass before the American public. It consisted mostly of remarks made in speeches at different times and places, and, admitting that the curiosity in the connection is natural and reasonable, we do not know how better to meet and satisfy it than by giving extracts from his sayings as they are to be found in reports of addresses delivered by him and published before his nomination. And to this task we will now proceed, premising only that, for economy of space, not to speak of clearer understanding on the reader's

part, the extracts submitted are grouped together in classes, each under a heading significant of the subject to which it belongs.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

I want to assure you to-night that I am an advocate of Civil Service Reform. My brief experience at Washington has led me often to utter the wish, with an emphasis I do not often use, that I might be forever relieved of any connection with the distribution of public patronage. I covet for myself the free and unpurchased support of my fellow-citizens and long to be able to give my time and energy solely to the public affairs that legitimately relate to the honorable trust which you have committed to me. It is easy for theorists to make suggestions upon this subject which in their opinion would cure all existing evils. I assure you it is more difficult to frame a law that shall be safe and practical in its application. I know that several Republican senators gave much thought and study to this question during the last session. I believe the next session will witness the enactment of a law, which, if it does not consummate, will at least auspiciously begin this reform. That there are sincere advocates of this reform in the Democratic party as in our own I do not deny. But that this reform would be introduced by that party if they were to come now in the control of the Federal patronage, I do not think any sensible man believes. In some of the States, and in the Senate of the United States, the Democratic party to-day controls the patronage. Need I say that in the appointments made there we find no suggestion of Civil Service Reform?—[Speech at Indianapolis, Aug. 30, 1882.]

No Democratic candidate for the Presidency could rally his party if he were to proclaim as the rule of his administration, that public office should not be a reward of party zeal. The fate of this reform is in our hands. Democrats have masqueraded as civil service reformers

in their conventions, but they drop the mask now that their hands are extended to clutch the booty. The only hope for the permanency of this reform is that it shall in the future go under the friendly hands and nurture of a Republican administration until it has become a rooted and substantial thing. We may then expect that the Democratic party will again praise its comeliness.—[*Iowa State Register*, Oct. 22, 1883.]

CIVIL RIGHTS.

The occasion for the extract following was a meeting of colored citizens called to protest against the abrogation of the civil rights act.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow-citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen: It has not been true during all the period of my residence in Indiana that you have been my fellow-citizens. It is true, however, to-night. When, in 1854, I came to Indiana to reside the constitution then in force in this State and the laws of the United States, as explained in the Dred Scott decision, did not recognize you as citizens. I stand to-night and look into the face of no man who is not my fellow-citizen, endowed under the law and the constitution with every right that I possess. I do not think there has been any revolution in history more notable or significant than the revolution which has taken place in this country since 1860, as affecting the status of the colored men and women of America. When we look back to that time before the war we see 4,000,000 of Africans who were slaves—absolutely deprived of all natural and political rights; in the eyes of the law mere things, not differing in any essential, so far as the law describes them, from a horse or a mule—chattels, to be sold upon the auction block, to be transferred by bills of sale, to be passed by testamentary expressions of those who owned them to the children that came after them. I talked to one here to-

night who has been the subject of those bills of sale. That was the status of the colored men in the slave States. What was it in many of the free States and here in Indiana? We had the old thirteenth article of our State Constitution, adopted in 1850, which absolutely made it illegal for a colored man to come into Indiana, which made it illegal for any man to hire a colored man who had come into the State, though he might be starving, and have a willing head to work and earn the bread he and his children needed, under the penalty of going to jail for hiring him. I recollect when that was your status here in Indiana, and there were convictions in this State against white men for hiring black men to work for them. What was your status then with reference to our public schools? You know when your children were first admitted to the schools. I doubt if there is a person here so young that they do not recollect it. You have left the infants at home to-night—the very young ones. What is your present relation to that great agency which, more than State laws or constitutional laws, is to be the agency of the elevation of the black race—the free schools? Why, all that is said in this letter that has just been read from Austin H. Brown is true as to the present condition of the schools in Indiana. You have magnificently constructed and equipped school-houses built out of the public taxes of the State of Indiana, in which your children may from day to day acquire the elements of an education which shall fit them for the right exercise of that citizenship with which they are now endowed; and in those schools you have colored men who, by their own intelligence and industry, have made themselves fit to preside over them, and dispense the discipline and instruction which pertains to them with a degree of skill and satisfaction that is a credit to your race. I noticed to-day as I walked down from my house in the morning young colored children, with their books under their arms, going to the high school, entering there with the children of the white men, rich and poor, of Indianapolis, upon equal terms, to acquire the higher branches of education. When we recall the legal re-

straints which less than twenty-five years ago were upon you, and the weight of prejudice which kept you down and separated you from your white fellow-citizens, we look with wonder upon the condition of things to-day, and I am here to rejoice with you in it. There has never been a proposition looking to the striking off of a shackle from the black man's wrist, or from his mind or from his personal freedom which has not received my hearty endorsement and my personal help—not one. I am glad to know that you are not wholly indebted to those distinguished pioneers, those intrepid men who faced this wall of prejudice in your behalf for what has been achieved, but that you yourselves have had an honorable part in breaking down those walls of opposition. It was most appropriate that the freedom of the blacks should not come until the blood of the black man had been shed on the battle-field to procure it. I have seen myself in the South a brigade of black men face the rebels. I have seen them turn up their dusky faces to the sun as their souls were freed by death upon the battle-field in order that they might win freedom for their race.—[Speech at Indianapolis, Oct. 23, 1883.]

FINANCES.

The Surplus in the Treasury.

As Fred Grant said, "A surplus is easier to handle than a deficit;" but I do not deny that in connection with this surplus of about one hundred millions a year there is danger; there are dangers of profligacy of expenditure, and others that require us to address ourselves promptly and intelligently to the question of a reduction of our revenue. I have said before, as your resolutions say, I would like to have that work done by the Republicans because I would like to have it done with reference to some great questions connected with the use of revenue, about which I cannot trust my Democratic friends. I would like to have our coast defences made

secure; I would like to have our navy made respectable, so that an American naval officer, as he trod the deck of the ship bearing the starry banner at its head in any port throughout the world, and looked about upon her equipment and ornament, might feel that she was a match for the proudest ship that walked the sea under any other flag. I would like to feel that no third-rate power, aye, no first-rate power, could sail into our defenceless harbors and lay our great cities under tribute. I would like to feel that the just claim of the survivors of the Union army of the war were made secure and safe.
[Speech at Indianapolis, Dec. 20, 1887.]

Value of a Stable Currency.

A stable currency—one that has a fixed value—that is worth the same to-day and to-morrow—is the best currency for men in all conditions of life, and is the only one with which men in all conditions will be satisfied; and if there is any class of men in the world who have a deeper interest than others in having currency which is the same from month to month and from year to year, it is the poor man, the laboring man—the men who are most liable to be deceived by those who have better opportunities of information in regard to matters of finance. The man who sits on some financial eminence can see beforehand the fluctuations in the money market and save himself from loss, but the man who cannot is the man down in the valley to whom information of these changes—financial changes—come tardily. Where you have a fluctuating currency, when it goes up labor is the last thing to feel the rise, and when it goes down labor is the first thing to feel the depression. Then, if there is one class more than another that has a deep interest in a permanent, stable currency, it is the poor man, who has not the ability to watch its fluctuations and arrange his finances with reference to them. Our greenback currency, with this quality added to it, is a currency with which I believe the people will never consent to part.

[Speech delivered at Danville, Ind., Aug. 18, 1876.]

The Financial Question

The financial question is unfortunately still in the arena of politics. It will be a happy day for the country when we can be sure of one full year unvexed by financial tinkering. The most serious drawback to a National currency is that if disturbed by unwise legislation, or threatened by the clamor of demagogues, the mischief is as wide as the country. A certain and stable standard by which values may be measured is the first necessity of commerce. So long as possible legislation by the next Congress affecting the value of our currency must be considered by every lender and borrower, by every buyer and seller, we cannot look for settled times and old-fashioned prosperity. Commerce hears the threats of the canvass, and contemplated enterprises are abandoned. The capitalist hordes his money. The manufacturer limps along on half time. The laborer suffers, and everybody stands in an attitude of waiting. Silver has been remonetized. Upon this question we had much heated controversy. The West and South, without distinction of party, antagonized the East, and won. The silver dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains—a full legal tender—is a hard fact. Let the controversy end. . . . Whatever our views on the question were when it was an open question, in the interest of financial tranquillity let us take the law as it is, and say *stare decisis*.—[Speech delivered at Richmond, Ind., Aug. 9, 1878.]

Fiat Heresy.

In what I have said thus far, I have been speaking to those who hold that a specie basis for our currency is desirable. But we have a new candidate for popular favor in what is called the "fiat" dollar. . . . It (fiat dollar) is not a greenback, unless light is darkness. I have always been an advocate and friend of the greenback currency. As a soldier, I hailed it in common with all my comrades as an ally of freedom, a friend of the flag, a reinforcement that made victory possible, and valor and

daring fruitful. It had but one infirmity—it was not a par dollar—it was depreciated. The promise it bore on its face was not kept. From this infirmity every true friend of that currency desired that it might be recovered. We differed as to what tonics should be used, as to when the invalid should leave his couch. . . . But let us trace a little more particularly the differences between the "fiat" dollar and the greenback. The greenback, in common with every bank note any of you have ever seen, contains a promise to pay dollars. It reads, the United States will pay to bearer one dollar on demand. None of you would take bank paper or the paper of an individual that did not contain a promise to pay. And its value is measured by your faith and your neighbor's faith, that the promise will be kept. The "fiat" dollar is to contain no promise to pay, but in its stead we are to have a "fiat," or proclamation. It would run in its simplest form thus: "This is a dollar," or if that formula is too brief, some decoration might be added, thus: "Hail Columbia! This is a dollar," or "E Pluribus Unum! This is ten dollars." Or for the pious it might read: "In God we trust to make this a dollar," and the holder would mentally add: "For He only can." For it is certain that nothing short of the "fiat" of Him who made the world from nothing can make such a bit of paper worth one hundred cents. The greenback is a child of promise. The "fiat" would be a waif, a stray, a nobody's child. But, say these men who claim for our Congress creative power, we will pass a law making these "fiat" dollars legal tender for all debts, public and private. If you did your law would need, as between individuals, the sanction of judicial approval. If the courts held your legal tender fiat act unconstitutional, as they certainly would, it would hardly pay the rag picker to gather from the defrauded poor your fiat dollars. Congress has power by the Constitution to coin money, but this is not coined. It has power to borrow money, but that implies a promise to pay, while neither in the law creating it nor in the fiat paper itself will you admit any promise to pay. . . . But if the legal tender qualities could be given

to this new species of money (the fiat dollar) that would not make it a par dollar, or a dollar of any fixed value. It would enable every corporation and manufacturing company in the land, every person employing labor, to buy up this cheap money and pay it out at par to their employees for the last month's wages. But when those laborers shall go to the merchant with their cheap fiat money to buy bread or meat for their families—where is the law that can force that merchant to give as much flour for a fiat dollar as for a greenback or gold dollar? He will only give the value of the dollar offered, and if that value is uncertain or fluctuating, he will probably give less than its present value, out of a fear that it may further depreciate on his hands. Labor is always sold on credit. Flour and meat and shoes may be, and are, to the poor, sold for cash. But labor cannot be sold in that way. Labor is a matter of hours, of days, of weeks; pay comes at the end of the day or week or month. It has been estimated by competent persons that on any given day there are owing \$120,000,000 to laboring men and women for wages. Do these want to be paid in "cheap money?" And yet that is the base use to which such money is always first put. These wages have been earned on a gold basis. Working men and women, do you agree that wages shall be paid in cheap fiat dollars? I affirm it to be clear to any man who will think, that the money of the laboring man ought to be real money—not spook money—not "materialized demand," as one of the ablest advocates of fiat money has described it, but a promise that it will on demand materialize into shining gold and silver dollars. The dollar he contracts for at the beginning of the month when his wages are named ought to be the dollar he receives at the end of the month. Money must be very cheap before it can be picked up in the streets, so cheap that it will hardly be worth stooping for. Short of that you can get it only by giving something for it, labor or property. If you get in exchange full value in cheap money you have more nominal money, but are you any richer than if you had got full value in good money? The probability is

that the next day you will be poorer—for the tendency of cheap money is to cheapen. It is undoubtedly true that the legal tender quality and the quality of being receivable for customs and internal taxes would give some value to anything, however worthless in itself, but not a certain or fixed value. The quality of being legal tender, aided by the promise on its face to pay, could not keep the greenback at par. Nothing but convertibility into coin can do that for any paper money."—[Speech delivered at Richmond, Ind., Aug. 9, 1878.]

THE TARIFF.

The next national Democratic platform will not declare for a tariff for revenue only. Indiana is not the only State where such a declaration would be prejudicial to Democratic success. In the South, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee are already awakening to the benefits of diversified industries. No longer content to raise cotton for Massachusetts, they are spinning it in sight of the fields where it grew, and are successfully competing with the East in the markets of the West. The vast beds of coal and iron in their mountains have been opened. Alabama already has her Birmingham, and boasts of her ability to make iron cheaper than Pennsylvania. The industrial question threatens to dominate the race question, and that bodes no good to the Democratic party in the South. The Western States are no longer purely agricultural States, exchanging their wheat for New England goods. When the Cobden Club makes its old appeal to the West in behalf of British goods, it does not speak as formerly to a section having but one great industry. The furnace, the rolling-mill, the machine-shop, the woollen and cotton-mill have come West to grow up with the country. In 1850 Ohio had only \$29,000,000 invested in manufacturing; in 1880 she had \$189,000,000. Then Indiana had less than \$8,000,000; in 1880 she had over \$65,000,000. Then Illinois had \$6,000,000; in 1880 she had over \$140,000,000.

Iowa then had \$1,200,000; in 1880 she had \$33,978,000. The total value of the products of manufacture of these four States in 1850 was only \$101,000,000; for 1880 it was \$982,207,000. The power of Cobden Club tracts over the mind of a farmer diminishes in proportion to his nearness to a manufacturing centre. For in that proportion he realizes the benefit of a home market. One that not only takes the staple products of his farm, but its more perishable products that cannot reach a distant market. Let us not forget that the tariff question, as we have it in American politics, is not in its ultimate statement a question as to what duty shall be levied on this or that article of import. The broader question must be settled first whether we may and should in fixing these duties so adjust them as to protect American industries. Whether we should do that of a deliberate purpose, or should leave these industries to the accidents or "incidents" of a tariff only designed for revenue. Mr. Voorhees is reported in the newspapers to have said that the tariff plank in the Indiana State platform of last year declared "For a revenue tariff, with incidental protection, designed to foster our industries." There is a vast deal of undesigned incidental nonsense in such a declaration. A leading Democratic paper aptly described this sort of thing "As a tariff for revenue only, with a protection attachment to catch votes." The tariff plank in the Ohio platform, to which I have already alluded, and which has been accepted in a good many other States as the correct "form," is only another example of a platform trick intended to conceal and not to declare the purposes of the party. As I have said, it did not reach Iowa in time, and you blundered into an honest expression of Democratic doctrine—"A tariff for revenue only." The Democrats of Iowa have courage. I think this virtue is the fruit of adversity. They have never found it necessary to stop and consider whether this or that declaration of principle might lose the State. It was lost before the platform was reported. You want a tariff for revenue only. You would have Congress gradually but persistently reduce duties till every vestige of protection to our home indus-

tries is eliminated. You would give our persecuted industries no rest. The only concession you will make to them is that they shall be led down an easy incline to death. You will advise a slow poison. Your platform does not hold out any delusive hope of "incidental protection." It boldly says, we will have no regard whatever to the necessities of any American industry or to the wages of the American laborer. Our sole object will be revenue; and if we can get more revenue out of a given article by making a rate that will close every American mill producing it, and give our entire market to the British manufacturer, that shall be the rate. This doctrine takes no account of workmen and workwomen. If our mills are kept running these must accept the lower wages of European operatives.

I do not stop to furnish statistics of the comparative wages of labor here and in Europe. They are abundant and well authenticated. I want no other evidence that wages and all the other conditions of labor are better here than in Europe than this: the laboring men and women of Europe are coming this way, and they come to stay. Millions of earnings have gone back to the old countries to pay the passage money of friends hither, but the steerage of the returning vessel is empty. The Irishman, German, and Scotchman know a land that has light and life in it for a laborer as well as the bird knows the land of summer. I do not say that labor has its full reward here. I do not deny that the avarice of the mill-owner too often clips the edge of comfort from the wages of his operative. I regret that the legislator has so little power to soften the rigors of avarice or to save the laborer from disastrous competition in the labor market. But in spite of all this, I do affirm that there is more comfort and more hope for a laboring man or woman in this country than in any other.

Will it help the laborer to bring our tariff duties to a "revenue only" basis? On which side is his interest? Every honest and intelligent advocate of free trade must admit that if we abandon our system of protective duties the wages of labor must be reduced. The trade unions

frequently concede a reduction of wages when the product of their labor declines in price. Now these tariff reformers tell us that the price of all competing American products is enhanced by the full amount of the duty laid on the foreign article. A reduction of duty then involves a corresponding reduction of the price of the product of our mills. The laborer in the mill must accept less wages. But it is said that the reduction in wages, which some of these gentlemen state at twenty-five per cent., is to be made up to the workmen by the cheaper rate at which he will obtain the necessities of life. The loss of one-fourth of his wages is a very hard fact. The laborer knows what extra pinching that means. The compensating advantage held out to him in the way of a reduced cost of the necessities of life is a schoolman's theory. The great bulk of his living, three-fifths, in fact—his meat, and bread, and house-rent—have no relation to tariff duties. The laborer is asked to render at least one-fourth of his wages that he may possibly save two dollars on his coat. A tariff "for revenue only" means less work and lower wages. Let every workingman take that fact home with him. This is not only a question for the worker in mills, but on the farm and on the street. One of the most significant things said in the Senate during the debate on the tariff bill was this by Senator Morgan, of Alabama: "There is Birmingham, which is growing up in great prosperity; but whether it is going to add a dollar to the wealth of Alabama is a problem. If Birmingham is to raise the price of farm labor all over the State twenty-five cents a day, or something like that, the farmers will have to give up cotton planting, and will have to stop, or else it will have to be planted entirely on the hills by the few white people who are scattered among them; or, if Birmingham or any other industry in Alabama is to draw the labor from the plantations, I do not see how we are to conduct our great agricultural enterprises. I shall begin to believe after a while that it is more of a curse than a blessing to have these great bestowments of coal and iron in the bosom of our State."

It will be noticed that this distinguished Senator doubts whether Birmingham, the great centre of the iron industry in his State, will be a benefit to Alabama. The higher price paid for skilled labor there will have a tendency to raise common labor—the black man in the cotton-field may demand higher wages for his day's toil—and so the Senator fears that agriculture may suffer from the proximity of these busy centres of the arts. It is a short-sighted view. The manufacturing industries build up our cities, and the cities cannot wall in the influences which enhance the value of property. They are not free cities, but must pay tribute to the outlying fields and to the farmer who tills them.

Every prosperous city in Iowa sends out from it an influence that enhances the value of the farm and the products of the farm. It brings to a circle of these farms a market which may be reached by the wagon and delivers the farmer from the tribute of the common carrier. We need not have any fear that wages will anywhere be too high. We have a common interest that a margin for comfort may be added to the necessities of life. I am sure that none of us are so anxious for cheap goods that we would be willing to admit "the spoils of the poor" into our houses. It seems strange that we should find a party among us opposing the protective principle when even the provinces of Great Britain are adopting it and finding increased prosperity.

France and Germany still embody this idea in their legislation. There may be fair ground for debate as to the rate which particular articles of import should bear, or as to whether this or that article should not be on the free list. Republicans differ upon such questions, but that our legislation should discriminate in favor of our own country, her industries and laboring people, ought not to be questioned. I shall not stop to tire you with statistics as to the effect of tariff duties upon the cost of our domestic products. The pretext that these are enhanced in price to the consumer by the amount of the tariff duty laid upon similar products has been too often exposed. If you will take any market report from one

•f your newspapers and examine the quotations on any manufacture of cotton, woolen or iron and then look at the tariff duty imposed on these articles you will expose for yourselves the falsity of this pretense. The effect of American competition has almost invariably been to reduce prices. It is this competition only that emancipates us from the power of the foreign manufacturer to dictate prices in our midst. Doubtless you are unaware of the fearful burdens under which you rest until some Democratic orator explains them to you. Things seem to you to be cheap enough and the exchanges which you are able to make of your labor for foreign products seem to be made on favorable terms. Certainly they are more favorable than they used to be. About a year ago I happened in one of our Indiana towns and had the pleasure of conversing with one of the old citizens who had been a clerk in a dry-goods store in a very early day in the history of our State, when the surplus product of our lands all went to the New Orleans market by flat-boat. He told me that he recalled well the time when the first Lowell print calicoes came to the store. Before that everything had been British or French. He recalled the price at which these things were sold. Calico was thirty-seven and a half cents per yard, and chickens were thirty-seven and a half cents per dozen. It took eight dozen chickens to buy a calico dress, and the pattern was scantier then than it is now. If we look at the price-list of steel rails or of other manufactures of iron or of tile, or fabrics of woolen, one shall find that we are able now to make exchanges of our farm products for these at more satisfactory rates than formerly. But, some one says, I can buy the same article of British manufacture cheaper abroad. Well, if that is true now, has the fact that our American mills have occupied so largely our home market nothing to do with it? Are you absolutely sure that the price would remain the same if these mills were closed? Are you sure it would not reach higher figures than the price of our domestic products now?

I have said that there was no unity of thought or pur-

pose or principle in the Democratic party on this question. There was no consistency of action on the subject in Congress. With very few exceptions Democratic Senators voted for high protective duties upon every article in the production of which their several States were interested. I will prove this by the evidence of Democratic Senators. On February 14th, Senator Gorman, of Maryland, said: "There is not a Democrat on this floor who has not voted for the highest possible protection within the revenue standard for the interest of his State, and the lowest possible duty upon every article that his people consume and do not either raise or manufacture."

What an interesting picture of Democrats by a Democrat—each voting high protective duties upon articles of import that come into competition with products of his own State, and "the lowest possible duties" upon all articles not produced in his State. General Hancock was right. The tariff is a "local question" to Democratic statesmen. In the same speech Senator Gorman further says on the same subject: "The policy exists all the way through from Texas to Maine. You will find my friend from Texas voting for a duty upon cattle to prevent them from coming in from Mexico in competition with the cattle of Texas. He would not put them on the free list, the very staff of life. He would not put on the free list wheat, corn, or cattle, and my friend from Alabama would join him in that vote. My distinguished friend from North Carolina (Mr. Vance), who has fought nearly every section in this bill, and has become as near a free trader as any gentleman I ever listened to, is in favor of taxing rice, and is in favor of keeping a tax upon turpentine. He himself proposed to take from the free list the wooden pipe the poor man smokes and place it on the taxable list." Let me call another Democratic witness. On the 15th February Mr. Voorhees said:

"Rice is a product of one or two States in this country. I am not unfavorable to any protection which the Senators from those States desire to have upon it. The value of rice imported into this country in the last year

was \$1,417,437.84. The duty collected on that rice was \$1,581,338.05, being a larger amount of money paid for the privilege of importing rice into this country than the value of the rice itself. Yet the gentlemen, with the exception of perhaps one or two from the States that raise rice, have stood here for nearly one solid month arraigning every interest that was affected by the whole tariff bill from one schedule to another from end to end. The rate of duty for the importation of rice is 111½ per cent. Yet I have heard men talk here by the hour about glass, about iron, and about coal, as if the very horrors of the Inquisition were upon them, and I find them meek and mild and gentle as sucking doves when it comes to the question of duty on rice and glad to stay away from the debate—glad to stay out of it—and do not say a single word. Glad to let others besides themselves settle the protection on their rice."

It only remains to add that sixteen Democratic Senators, out of twenty-six voting, voted against a reduction of the duty on rice, and that Senator Vance was one of them.

And now let me give you a specimen of the views of two leading Democrats of Indiana. In one of his last speeches in the Senate, February 15, 1881, Joseph E. McDonald said :

"The Democratic party has always taken this view of the powers of the Federal Government, and has opposed the so-called protection policy as unconstitutional as well as unwise, and especially in its platform of 1876, 'demanded that all custom house taxation should be only for revenue.' The reassertion of this principle in the platform of 1880 it is true has been denounced in this chamber as a 'remarkable blunder,' and it has been charged here and elsewhere that the assertion of it had caused the defeat of the Democratic party in the last Presidential election. . . . Mr. President, the Democratic party was not defeated because it advocated a constitutional tariff and opposed the doctrine of protection, and I trust on this subject it will 'take no step backward.'

Mr. Voorhees, in his letter to Bayless Hanna, October 20, 1881, said :

"The platform of 1880 was a violent departure on the subject of the tariff and has no precedent in the history of Democratic platforms adopted in National conventions. Have examined them all. The declaration of 'a tariff for revenue only' was never before made in a National Democratic convention, and is a burlesque on common sense. . . .

"We lost Indiana in the last three weeks of the campaign of 1880 on the absurd issue made by our platform on this subject."

And again in his debate with Senator Vance (*Cong. Record*, February 17, 1883, p. 17) he said: "I stand here declaring that I am a protectionist for every interest which I am sent here by my constituents to protect."

Now, my Democratic friends, is not somebody cheated when these two views of the tariff are blended in one platform? Mr. Hendricks in his speech at Council Bluffs read the Iowa and Ohio platforms of this year, and the Indiana platform of last year, and said: "I have referred to the recent declarations of these States as entitled to great weight and consideration. Their population aggregates more than six million, and in the pursuit of agriculture and the mechanic arts their production can hardly be enumerated. The Democracy of Virginia are in harmony with these States." Now, if the Virginia Democracy are in harmony with these three platform declarations on the subject of the tariff, it must be that the platforms are harmonious with each other. Mr. Hendricks meant to convey that impression. And yet no one knows better than Mr. Hendricks that the Iowa platform which declares for a "tariff for revenue only, by a gradual but persistent reduction," would have been impossible in Ohio and Indiana. He knew that the Ohio platform which demands a tariff so adjusted as, among other things, to encourage productive industries at home and afford just compensation to labor, is no more a "tariff for revenue only" than his talk was that of a candid man. The Indiana platform of last year quite as distinctly admitted the idea that a tariff was not to be "for revenue only," but was to be so adjusted as to "pro-

mote the industries of the country and the interests of labor." When Mr. Hendricks says these three platforms mean the same thing he delivers a heavy blow at the intelligence of Mr. Voorhees, who says that the Iowa platform is an absurdity, and that the Indiana platform is the work of his own hand. Mr. Voorhees claims that the Indiana platform allows a Democrat to say as he said in the Senate, without inconsistency, "I am a protectionist for every interest that I am sent here by my constituents to protect," and to vote for the highest duties on glass and rice. But Mr. Voorhees is not for the "old ticket," and this may account for Mr. Hendricks' indifference to his feelings.

A great many leading Democrats talk about "incidental protection," as if that sort of protection was a very good thing. They are careful to say that they would give our industries the full benefit of the beneficent accident.

Now, if they really rejoice in this chance benefit, why not give the benefit of a purpose—by design—and get some credit for good intentions? I can see no reason in them unless it be held with Mr. McDonald, that it is unconstitutional to consider the protective effects of a duty in advance, or that it is a good thing but must come, like the whiskey to Lincoln's temperance man, "unbeknownst to him." I would not have a tariff for revenue only—nor for protection only. I would not have either the revenue or the protection "incidental." --[Speech reported in *Iowa State Register*, Oct. 22, 1883.]

Free Trade and Workingmen.

I believe that tariff duties should have regard not only to the revenue to be raised, but to the interest of our American producers, and especially of our American workmen. It is clear to my mind that free trade, or a tariff for revenue, or for revenue only—and these last are essentially the same thing—involves necessarily a sudden and severe cut in the wages of the working men and women in this country. I know it is said that his dimin-

ished wages will have an enlarged purchasing power—that after he has submitted to a cut of from 15 to 30 per cent. in his wages, what he has left will still buy as much as before. But all this is speculation; the workman has no indemnifying bond, only a philosopher's forecast. The question must be settled by the intelligent workingmen of the country. If they do not want protective duties, then they will go. If they believe that it is good policy for them that an increased amount of the work necessary to supply the American market should be done in foreign shops, by foreign workmen, then it will come to pass. Many of them have thought upon the question and have reached a conclusion. During last winter I received petitions from a large number of the Knights of Labor assemblies of this State, protesting against the passage of the "free ship" bill. They said that in their opinion our ships should be built in American shops by American workmen, and not on the Clyde by British workmen; and when I said in response that I agreed with them, several of the assemblies sent me a vote of thanks.

All that I have said relates only to the question whether, in framing a tariff bill, we shall think of nothing but the revenue to result, as the Democratic party contends, or whether we shall also consider the effect of particular duties upon the prosperity of our American industries; whether protection shall be intelligent, of design, or fortuitous and accidental. I stand with my party for the former. But in saying this I am not committed to specific rates, or to the existing law in all its details. I am ready to consider any necessary changes—reforms, if you please to call them such—but it will be in the light of the general principles I have announced.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Sept. 15, 1886.]

Republican View of a Tariff.

The Republican party, on the other hand, holds to the doctrine that in fixing tariff rates the effect of the rate proposed upon American industries and upon the wages of American workmen should be carefully and kindly

considered. We do not think that the shutting up of shops or the extinguishment of industries is a pleasant work. We have not reached the plane of that cold philosophy which refuses to recognize a closer relationship and a higher duty to the American workman and his family than to the English. The foundations of our national security and life are not of stone—the good will and good conscience of our voting population support the stately fabric. Contentment is a condition of good will, and has an important relation to a good conscience. Good wages promote contentment. The cry of the free trader is for a cheaper coat, an English coat, and he does not seem to care that this involves a cheapening of the men and women who spin, and weave, and cut, and stitch. He may even deny this. But let one of these gentlemen whose lives have been so favored that they have never had any "personal contact with business" go into any great manufacturing establishment and tell the grimy workmen that the product of their work is to be reduced 25 per cent. in the market. He will see that the men who have had a very rough "personal contact with business" at once understand that the hope of better wages is gone, and that lower wages are imminent. It is no answer to say that the manufacturer ought to stand the reduction himself. Perhaps in some cases he ought. In other cases he could not without producing his goods at a loss. I may admit that selfishness is the genius that presides in the mill office, but even this evil genius can be made to serve the workman when the product of the mill is in demand at good prices. I do not say that our American workman gets all the benefit he ought to enjoy from a protective tariff, but I do believe that his condition and that of his family is vastly better than it would be under a free-trade or tariff-for-revenue-only policy. It is noticeable that even the McDonald school of Democrats take great comfort in what they call the "incidental protection," which a tariff for revenue will afford to our industries and to our workmen. They admit the benefit of protection, but insist that it must be an accident. As I said once before, we, on the other hand, prefer that the

good shall be designed, and so intelligent.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Aug. 23, 1884.]

Democratic Revision of Tariff.

I suspect I am a poor political economist. But when I hear men talking, now, like ex-Senator McDonald, of the great benefit that is to come to our people when Democrats revise the tariff, especially in the shape of a cheap coat, I fail to find myself completely in sympathy with him. I think I saw, the other day, in one of our Indianapolis papers, a good overcoat advertised for \$1.87, and it must be a pretty mean man that wants to get one for a dollar.

The simple fact is, gentlemen, many things are made and sold now too cheap, for I hold it to be true that whenever the market price is so low that the man or the woman who makes an article cannot get a fair living out of the making of it, it is too low.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Dec. 20, 1887.]

THE LABOR QUESTION.

Protection of American Labor.

I believe that a large majority of our people—not themselves wage-workers—sympathize with and will give their aid to every reform calculated to make the burdens of labor lighter, and its rewards more adequate. These, added to the vast army of wage-workers, can and will bring on in orderly procession those well-digested reforms which experience and study have suggested, and will yet suggest. A contented and thrifty working class is the surest evidence of national health and the best pledge of public security. The men who fought the war for the Union were its working people. It was true of the army as of the kingdom of Heaven—not many rich. The reforms suggested have relation, first, to the health and comfort of the workman. I believe the law

should vigorously, and under severe penalties, compel all employers of labor to reduce the risk to health and limb to the lowest practicable limit. Overcrowding, ill ventilation, unhealthful surroundings should be made unlawful and unprofitable. The life of man or woman should not be woven into a fabric. Every appliance for safety should be exacted. I believe that the wages of the laborer should be given such preference as will secure him against loss. As long ago as 1878, in a public speech, I said upon this subject: "If any railroad or other business enterprise cannot earn enough to pay the labor that operates it and the interest on its bonds, no right-minded man can hesitate to say which ought to be paid first. The men who have invested money in the enterprise or loaned money on its securities ought to have the right to stop the business when net earnings fail, but they cannot fairly appropriate the earnings of the engineer, or brakeman or laborer."

I believe the law should require the prompt payment of wages in money. I believe that the number of working hours can, in most of our industries, be reduced without a serious loss to production, and with great gain to the health, comfort and contentment of our working classes. I advocated and voted for the law of Congress prohibiting the importation of laborers under contracts made abroad, and believe that such legislation is just and wise. But I cannot extend this discussion further. The recent State platform of our party, in its declarations on this subject, meets my entire approval. The labor reform needs only to trust to reason and fair argument to secure success. Its two worst enemies are anarchy and the demagogue. If it escapes these it will succeed. The masses of our people are disposed to be kind, just and liberal—hospitable to reason and reform. But the majority in favor of law and public order is overwhelming. Nothing can succeed upon the line of lawlessness. It is the most hopeful sign that attends this great movement that the great body of its promoters have not failed to see this truth, and have united with their fellow-citizens in denouncing the fierce and destructive doctrines of the

anarchist and his bloody work.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Sept. 15, 1886.]

The Republican Party and the Laboring Man.

The Republican party has given to the laboring man a free homestead on the public lands. It has emancipated four millions of laborers from slavery, and brought by the same charter free labor itself to an honor it could not attain while companioned with slavery. In our State platform several other reforms within the scope of State legislation are proposed, to all of which I give my hearty approval. Among them is a homestead law, which shall secure against sale or execution for debt the home of the distressed debtor, and preserve to his family a roof-tree when the storm of adversity breaks upon them. Another direction in which practical relief may be given to large classes of laboring men is in the laws securing and enforcing the prompt payment of wages. In the case of debts owing by railroad corporations, the courts have, in the exercise of their equity power, without legislation, given a preference over mortgage bonds to labor claims accrued within six months before the appointment of a receiver. The equity of a laborer where wages have been unjustly withheld for seven months is certainly not weakened by his added month of waiting. There seems to be no good reason why there should not be given, by proper legislation, to the employés of all corporations and manufacturing companies, a first lien for wages due. Such a law might not be operative to the full against existing mortgages, but it would be as to all future liens. Holders of mortgage securities would then have an interest to see that wages were paid, while they could protect themselves against the mismanagement of those who controlled the enterprise by making the non-payment of these labor liens a cause of forfeiture in the mortgage, entitling the mortgagee to foreclose. If any railroad or other business enterprise cannot earn enough to pay the labor that operates it and the interest on its bonds, no right-minded man can hesitate to say

which ought to be paid first. The men who have invested money in the enterprise, or loaned money on its securities, ought to have the right to stop the business when net earnings fail, but they cannot honestly appropriate the earnings of the engineer, or brakeman or laborer. When a court, on the motion of the bondholders, seizes a railroad and operates it by a receiver, the chancellor will yield nothing for interest on the bonds till he has paid the men who operate the road. Why should there be another rule for a railroad president? But not only should payment be made secure, but promptness should be enforced. Great wrong is often done by delay though ultimate payment may be certain. The laborer is forced to buy on credit at enhanced prices, or to sell his claim at a heavy discount. This, I believe, could be remedied by legislation prohibiting, under proper penalties, the diversion of earnings to other purposes until the labor roll is receipted. To such reforms—and these specifications do not at all exhaust the list—the Republican party is pledged. The practical knowledge the laboring man has of the evils under which he suffers should be reinforced by the wisest thought of those who are learned in political economy and the law. Every aid which public sentiment and the law can give—without trenching upon constitutional restrictions or the rights of others—waits only for a kindly call. But it will not answer to the summons of hate and violence. . . .

It seems to me, and to this I ask the serious thought of all classes, that the pressing wants of the times are: First, that lawlessness, communism in all its forms, threats, and class hatreds shall be put away forever. If the need of this is more urgent to one class than another it is to the honest laboring man who is out of work. Threats and fears can drive money out of active employment into double-barred safes and into four per cent. bonds—only security and confidence can call it back to its natural partnership and labor. Second, that we put our currency on an honest basis—where those who buy and sell and those who work know when they contract what the dollar of payment is to be. Third, that we lift

up our eyes towards the hills, and recognize the faint but sure signs of morning.—[Speech at Richmond, Ind., Aug. 9, 1878.]

The Laboring Man and Anarchy.

Nothing is more fatal to the interest of labor than anarchy. A condition of society in which law is supreme is for the poor man the only tolerable one. The law reinforces his weakness and makes him the peer of the strongest. It is his tower. If he forsakes or destroys it his folly or his fury delivers him a prey to the strong. In this land of universal suffrage, if he will be wise and moderate, no right legislation can tarry long. That which is just will not be denied. But fury and threats and force will not persuade. They provoke their like, and in this clash and strife all must suffer. One of the most distressing and alarming features of our time is the growing hostility between capital and labor. Those who should be friends have been drawing apart and glaring fiercely at each other. There is no real or necessary antagonism. Capital and labor must unite in every enterprise; the partnership ought to be a fair one, and the partners friendly. The demagogue is a potent factor of evil in the settlement of the labor question. His object is to use the laborer to advance a political ambition. He flatters him with professions of ardent friendship; beguiles him into turning the stone for his axe grinding, and when the edge is on sends him away without wages. If laboring men would appoint committees to inquire into the personal history of these self-appointed champions they would not unlikely find that the noisiest of them do not pay their tailor or shoemaker. Their mission is to array one class against another—to foment strife, and to live themselves without work. They talk largely of the producers, but never produce anything themselves except a riot, and then they are not at the front. Their doctrine is that every man who hires labor is an oppressor and a tyrant. That the first duty of every man who works is to hate the man who gives him

work. The fruit of this sort of teaching is unrest and fear. . . . The true workingmen should shake off these vipers into the fire; place themselves and all their protective organizations on the platform of the law, and while demanding their legal rights to the full proclaim their equal deference to the rights of others. From this platform their cry for help and sympathy will find the public ear. Let them think and work toward specific and legitimate reforms, for within the limits of constitutional restriction there is no legislation that will be denied them.—[Speech at Richmond, Ind., Aug. 9, 1878.]

Contract Labor.

Mr. Blaine stands to-night square with his party upon the proposition embodied in our platform at Chicago, that we do not want in this country imported contract labor. I believe in letting any man who wants to become a citizen come here, if he comes of his own impulse. But I do not believe, nor does he believe, nor does the Republican party believe in imported gang labor. Contracts made in foreign lands are made at foreign prices, and the competition is unfair. Labor contracts should be individual.—[Ratification speech at Indianapolis, June 7, 1884.]

PENSIONS.

Hundreds of letters from Indiana soldiers, some from sick-beds, some written in the shadow of the poor-house, full of the simple pathos of truth and suffering, have come to me since I have been in the Senate, and the appeal of each was, "Can't you hurry up the settlement of my pension claim?" A Republican Congress responded to that appeal. We doubled the force in the pension office—800 additional clerks there—and gave a corresponding increase in the adjutant and surveyor-generals' offices. If claims were to be settled faster

more money would be needed this year to pay the claims allowed. Who will call this waste or extravagance?—
[Speech at Indianapolis, Aug. 30, 1882.]

Mr. Cleveland has one great eminence—I will not say fame—by his extraordinary exercise of the veto power. He has vetoed more bills than all of his predecessors, from Washington down. I must defer to another time a discussion of this feature of his administration. But as we have been challenged to examine his vetoes of private pension bills I will refer to one.

Sally Ann Bradley was the widow of Thomas J. Bradley, who served as a private in Company B, 24th Regiment Ohio Volunteers, from June 13, 1861, to October 9, 1865. He was pensioned on account of a shell wound in the back, received at Murfreesboro, Tenn., January 2, 1862, and died October 21, 1882. The commissioner of pensions decided that his death was not entirely attributable to his military service, and that his widow could not secure a pension under existing law. She was seventy years of age, as helpless as an infant, without means of support, or friends able to assist her. Four of her sons followed their father to the war. Two of them were killed upon the battle-field, and the other two returned, one with the loss of an eye, the other of an arm. The bill gave her a widow's pension, \$12 a month. In his veto of this bill Mr. Cleveland said: "No cause is given of the soldier's death, but it is not claimed that it resulted from his military service, her pension being asked for entirely because of her needs and the faithful service of her husband and sons. This presents the question whether a gift, in such cases, is a proper disposition of money appropriated for the purpose of paying pensions. The passage of this law would, in my opinion, establish a precedent so far reaching, and open the door to such a vast multitude of claims not on principle within our present pension laws, that I am constrained to disapprove the bill under consideration."

Does this case need any comment? Would the question have been raised in any other mind, whether what the President is please to call a gift was proper in such a

case? A gift of \$12 a month, and in exchange for what? What gift has she made to her country? Two sons that she had nourished at her breast lying in unknown graves upon distant battle-fields. Two more, her only ones, came back from the war maimed in limb and crippled in their ability to maintain the mother who bore them. A husband upon whom she had leaned for support returned to her no longer the stalwart helper and defender he had been and is called before her to the grave. She is alone. Cannot a great, rich government like ours take care of this patriotic woman? Must she go to the poor-house or die of want? May not a nation do out of its great resources what an individual, not lost to a sense of justice, would do under like circumstances?

Our President seems to think that only a policeman's club or a fire engine stands related to the public safety and the substantial welfare of the people. Those finer spiritual influences, patriotism, courage, heroism, he would probably call sentimental and not substantial.

Patriotism saved this country from a revolt that the policeman's club could not quell—it extinguished in blood a flame that water could not quench—and the nation can afford to honor it, and relieve the burdens it brought upon its heroes and their families.—[Speech at Indianapolis, Sept. 15, 1886.]

Fellow-Citizens: There are some things connected with this administration of special interest to soldiers, and I will ask their attention while I state them. I know the power of the soldier vote is diminishing; the column is moving on, and from its head the aged and infirm are dropping into the grave. I know there are not so many Union soldiers to vote now as there were in 1865, and yet, my comrades, there is still a large body of the surviving veterans of that war, and if they are as faithful to themselves as they were to the country, they have the power to rebuke those who now show a disposition to forget the liberal promises with which they sent the boys to the field in 1861. Some of you went out Democrats and came back Democrats. But politics cannot break the bond of comradeship. I honor you as I honor any

other soldier. I give you increased honor, because in many cases you went to the war in spite of the beguilements of those to whom you had been accustomed to look for political advice. What liberal promises were made, my comrades, in 1861 and 1862! Ah! when the stress of war was on, when the old ship was in the storm, how profuse were the promises made to the boys! Shall they be forgotten now? Shall our people in these times, when increasing years and infirmities are bringing to many of the old soldiers needs they never felt before, forget them? I pledge myself, and I am sure I can pledge the Republican party, to be faithful, generous, and liberal to the soldiers that survive, to care for them and to honor them until the last veteran sleeps his last sleep.

But I come now to consider the President's attitude toward the soldiers. President Cleveland will be known as the great veto President. All of our Presidents prior to President Cleveland vetoed altogether 110 bills passed by Congress, and President Cleveland vetoed in the eight months' session of the last Congress 114. He is four ahead of all his predecessors.—[Speech at Indianapolis, October, 1886.]

FOREIGN POLICY.

Some timid people fear that Mr. Blaine will involve the country in war. Some over-cautious business men affect to believe that the even current of their money-getting will be disturbed by the aggressive foreign policy which they suppose he would inaugurate. My fellow-citizens, no one has ever accused Blaine of being a fool. He has some ideas upon foreign affairs, and I am glad of it; they are rare. He had begun to organize them into a system when he laid down the portfolio of State. Now, what sort of a foreign policy did his dispatches foreshadow? One in which this country shall play the bully? One in which we shall, without cause, insult or deny just rights to any foreign government? Not at all.

Do we not all desire that we shall have a manly foreign policy—one that shall not be characterized by such timidity as not to lift a manly protest when any wrong is done in any foreign country to the humblest American citizen? What was it Mr. Blaine proposed to do? Briefly and chiefly, he proposed to call a congress for consultation as to the mutual interests of the nations of the continent; a meeting of our sister republics, not for the purpose of aggression. Far from it. It was that we might exercise our friendly offices in the interests of peace and stable government among these people where government has been so unstable, where the existing regimes are so frequently overturned as to bring prostration and desolation to all private enterprises. It was that we might extend a kindly hand to these people, to help them on to a higher civilization, and that we might in return enjoy some of that great commerce which Great Britain monopolizes to-day. We are living near these people; they are striving to imitate us in the experiment of free government, yet we are without access or influence. When a distinguished citizen of this State was, by President James A. Garfield, appointed charge d'affaires at Montevideo, in Uruguay, in order to get to his post of duty he had to take a British steamer from New York to Liverpool, and another British steamer from Liverpool to Montevideo. Notwithstanding we are here on the same general coast, there was no direct communication between this country and that. It has been a standing shame that our relations to these South American governments have been such that neither we nor they have enjoyed any of the benefits of good neighborhood. Mr. Blaine proposed to remedy this confessed omission in our foreign policy. A congress of these nations was the leading feature of his brief administration of the State Department. There was nothing to disturb business in that policy, but much promise of a new market for our surplus. Nobody wants war; it is a last resort. But every self-respecting American does believe in maintaining the proper dignity, honor, and influence of this great nation.

My countrymen, I have digressed a little in this talk about Mr. Blaine's foreign policy. Neither he nor we propose any policy that shall imperil the quiet of this country unless, having exhausted every peaceful measure, there should remain no other recourse but war. But when that issue comes, the patriotic, brave hearts of his countrymen will respond that the dignity and the honor of the country and the safety of her citizens must be maintained, even if the money-getters suffer temporary interruption.—[Ratification speech at Indianapolis, June 7, 1884.]

RESTORATION OF THE AMERICAN NAVY.

I am in favor of putting upon the sea enough American ships, armed with the most improved ordnance, to enforce the just rights of our people against any foreign aggressor. It is a good thing in the interests of peace and commerce to show the flag of our navy in the ports where the flag of commerce is unfurled. It opens the way to traffic and gives security to our citizens dwelling in those remote lands.—[Ratification speech at Indianapolis, June 7, 1884.]

Is it not humiliating beyond expression that a prominent Democratic representative should thus declare the inability of the government to obtain redress from an inferior power for outrages upon an American citizen, and that his party associates should at the same time be voting to withhold the necessary appropriation to arm the four vessels we are building and against adding another to their number? It is not proposed by the Republican party to put afloat a navy which, assembled in one squadron, could do successful battle with the fleets of some of the great European powers, but we do propose, and such was the view of the naval advisory board, to build at once a sufficient number of fast-sailing steel cruisers to constitute a bond for good behavior and fair treatment on the part of the other maritime nations of the world, and to construct for coast and harbor defenses

such armored ships and torpedo boats as will protect our great commercial cities on the seaboard. The occasional visit to foreign ports of a modern and well-equipped ship, bearing the flag of our nation, challenges respect and gives a sense of security to our citizens dwelling abroad.
—[Speech at Indianapolis, Aug. 23, 1884.]

MISCELLANEOUS POLITICS.

Remedies for Crimes Against the Ballot.

There is vast power in a protest. Public opinion is the most potent monarch this world knows to-day. Czars tremble in its presence; and we may bring to bear upon this question a public sentiment, by bold and fearless denunciation of it, that will do a great deal toward correcting it. Why, my countrymen, we meet now and then with these Irish-Americans and lift our voice in denunciation of the wrongs which England is perpetrating upon Ireland. We do not elect any members of Parliament, but the voice of free America, protesting against these centuries of wrongs, has had a most potent influence in creating, stimulating and sustaining the liberal policy of William E. Gladstone and his associates. Cannot we do as much for oppressed Americans? Can we not make our appeal to these Irish-American citizens who appeal to us in behalf of their oppressed fellow-countrymen, to rally with us in this crusade against election frauds and intimidation in the country that they have made their own?

There may be legislative remedies in sight when we can once again possess both branches of the national Congress and have an executive at Washington who has not been created by these crimes against the ballot. Whatever they are, we will seek them out and put them into force, not in a spirit of enmity against the men who fought against us—forgetting the war, but only insisting that now, nearly a quarter of a century after it is over, a free ballot shall not be denied to the Republicans in

those States where rebels have been rehabilitated with a full citizenship. Every question waits the settlement of this. The tariff question would be settled already if the 6,000,000 black laborers in the South had their due representation in the House of Representatives.—[Detroit speech, Feb. 22, 1888.]

The South, and Suppression of the Republican Vote.

But some timid soul is alarmed at the suggestion. He says we are endeavoring to rake over the coals of an extinct conflict to see if we may not find some ember in which there is yet sufficient vitality to rekindle the strife. Some man says you are actuated by unfriendly feelings toward the South, you want to fight the war over again, you are flaunting the bloody shirt. My countrymen, those epithets and that talk never have any terrors for me. I do not want to fight the war over again, and I am sure no Northern soldier—and there must be many here of those gallant Michigan regiments, some of which I had the pleasure during the war of seeing in action, not one of these that wishes to renew that strife or fight the war over again. Not one of this great assemblage of Republicans who listens to me wishes ill to the South. If it were left to us here to-night the streams of her prosperity would be full. We would gladly hear of her reviving and stimulated industry. We gladly hear of increasing wealth in the States of the South. We wish them to share in the onward and upward movement of a great people. It is not a question of the war, it is not a question of what was done between '61 and '65 at all that I am talking about to-night. It is what they have done since '65. It is what they did in '84 when a President was to be chosen for this country.

Our controversy is not one of the past, it is of the present. It has relation to that which will be done next November, when our people are again called to choose a President. What is it we ask? Simply that the South live up to the terms of the surrender at Appomattox. When that great chieftain received the surrender of the

Army of Northern Virginia, when those who had for four years confronted us in battle, stacked arms in surrender, the terms were simply these: You shall go to your homes, and shall be there unmolested so long as you obey the laws in force where you reside. That is the sum of our demand. We ask nothing more of the South to-night than that they shall cease to use this recovered citizenship, which they had forfeited by rebellion, to oppress and disfranchise those who equally with themselves under the Constitution are entitled to vote—that and nothing more.

I do not need to enter into details. The truth to-day is that the colored Republican vote of the South, and with it and by consequence the white Republican vote of the South, is deprived of all effective influence in the administration of this government. The additional power given by the colored population of the South in the Electoral College, and in Congress, was more than enough to turn the last election for President, and more than enough to reverse, yes, largely more than reverse, the present Democratic majority of the House of Representatives. Have we the spirit to insist that everywhere, North and South, in this country of ours no man shall be deprived of his ballot by reason of his politics? There is not in all this land a place where any rebel soldier is subject to any restraint, or is denied the fullest exercise of the elective franchise. Shall we not insist that what is true of those who fought to destroy the country shall be true of every man who fought for it, or loved it, like the black man of the South did, that to belong to Abraham Lincoln's party shall be respectable and reputable everywhere in America.—[Detroit speech, Feb. 22, 1888.]

Control by the Majority.

My countrymen, this government is that which I love to think of as my country, for not acres, or railroads, or farm products, or bulk meats, or Wall street, or all combined, are the country that I love. It is the institution, the form of government, the frame of civil society, for

which that flag stands, and which we love. It is what Mr. Lincoln so tersely, yet so felicitously, described as the government of the people, by the people and for the people; a government of the people, because they instituted it—the Constitution reads, “We, the people, have ordained;” by the people, because it is in all its departments controlled by them; for the people, because it states as its object of supreme attainment the happiness, security and peace of the people that dwell under it.

The bottom principle—sometimes it is called the corner-stone, sometimes the foundation of our structure of government—is the principle of control by the majority. It is more than the corner-stone or foundation. This structure is a monolith, one from foundation to apex, and that monolith stands for and is this principle of government by majorities, legally ascertained by constitutional methods. Everything else about our government is appendage, is ornamentation. This is the monolithic column that was reared by Washington and his associates. For this the war of the revolution was fought; for this and its more perfect security the Constitution was formed; for this the war of the rebellion was fought, and when this principle perishes the structure which Washington and his compatriots reared lies dishonored in the dust. The equality of the ballot demands that our apportionments in the States for legislative and congressional purposes shall be so adjusted that there shall be equality in the influence and the power of every elector, so that it shall not be true anywhere that one man counts two or one and a half, and some other man counts only one-half.

But some one says that is fundamental. All men accept this truth. Not quite. My countrymen, we are confronted by this condition of things in America to-day, a government by the majority, expressed by an equal and a free ballot, is not only threatened, but it has been overturned. Why is it to-day that we have legislation threatening the industries of this country? why is it that the paralyzing shadow of free trade falls upon the manufactures and upon the homes of our laboring

classes? It is because the laboring vote in the Southern States is suppressed. There would be no question about the security of these principles so long established by law, so eloquently set forth by my friend from Connecticut, but for the fact that the workingmen of the South have been deprived of their influence in choosing representatives at Washington.—[Detroit speech, Feb. 22, 1888.]

Public Lands.

There was a time in our history when we thought our public domain was inexhaustible. There was a time when our Pacific slope lay separated by weeks of travel from us, over sandy plains, in slow coaches. There was a sentiment that we might well aid in the construction of some railroads to the coast. But that work has been done, and we stand, as he stands to-day, in the defence of the principle enunciated at Chicago, that the land not fairly earned by these companies should be returned to the public domain, and that what is left of the public domain suitable for agricultural uses shall be saved for the actual settler, in small tracts. The public mind has been aroused by the fact that foreign capitalists, lords and nobles of the old country, have come here and acquired vast tracts of our public domain; public indignation and interest have been excited, and we have said it must stop. I would not dispose of an acre of the public land otherwise than under the homestead laws.—[Ratification speech at Indianapolis, June 7, 1884.]

The Ship Canal across the Isthmus.

In this dispatch Mr. Blaine boldly, yet without bluster, assumed the position for his government that in the present condition of this country, having States upon the Pacific, Atlantic and the Gulf, we had a peculiar interest in any ship canal across the Isthmus. He pointed out that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, by reason of the greater naval strength of Great Britain, which our policy did not allow us to compete with, surrendered

the control of the canal practically to Great Britain in case of war between the two nations, by refusing to us the benefit of our greater strength upon the land.

The narrow barrier which obstructs the passage of ships from the Gulf to the Pacific ocean will not much longer force commerce around the Horn. When a canal is completed it will be practically a part of our coast line, and the control of it by any foreign power would put us at tremendous disadvantage in time of war, by allowing the enemy to mass her squadrons on either of our coasts at her pleasure. Only the law of superior force could compel us to submit to this disadvantage.—[Speech, Indianapolis, Aug. 23, 1884.]

Trusts and “Combines.”

Now I do not propose here to discuss the tariff question. I believe the principle of the protection of American industry is well established and well defended by the principles of political economy and by the duties of patriotism. There are one or two things that in some respects are working against it, and one is this abominable and un-American system which is recently developed, called trusts—I do not refer to the gas trust at Indianapolis; that is first-rate; it is the only trust of that sort that I know of that is really in the interests of the people—but this sort of thing has come about: The men making steel rails form an association, and they say, “We must not make too many steel rails, the price will go down.” And so they say to a steel-mill over in St. Louis, “Now don’t you make any rails this year at all; you let your fires go out; you can discharge all of your workmen, and we will pay you out of the pool enough to make you a good dividend on your stock or your capital.” And the mill shuts down, turns out the workmen that should be there, and gets out of the pool a good interest on its investment. We had a whisky pool—I don’t know that anybody would object that they limit the production, but it will do just as well for illus-

tration. They work it the same way. They say to this distillery, "Your capacity is a hundred barrels; you make fifty." And to another, "Your capacity is two hundred; you make a hundred." And to another, "Don't you run at all, and we will pay you." And they pool it all up and fix prices this way. Now this thing is running too far. It is un-American; it is unpatriotic in my judgment, and you will notice that those who are attacking our tariff system take their position behind these facts and use them as the ground of their assault. We must find some way to stop such combinations. There has recently been an attempt in Pennsylvania, as reported, in the great anthracite coal regions upon which the cities of Philadelphia, Boston, New York and the people of the seaboard depend, as well as of the West, for much of their winter fuel, to combine together, the railroad and mine-owners, and say: "We will only produce so much coal, and we will force the price up." I believe these things should be made unlawful, prohibited and punished as conspiracies against the people.—[Speech, Danville, Ind., Aug. 26, 1886.]

The Anarchists.

My countrymen, I believe that the question of enforcing the laws is assuming an importance now that it has never had before in our country. We have been careless, thoughtless, as we saw violations of law going on from day to day, but the nation has been startled into a realization of the fact that its only safety, the only anchor it has out on the side of social order and domestic peace, is the enforcement of the law. What was it that culminated at Chicago less than two years ago, on that day when the guardians of the law were butchered? Where did this red flower find its seed? It was, as I believe, in that defiant, persistent violation of law upon which we have so long looked indifferently. The nation is waking up.

Prohibition.

I want to say this further: There may have been a time in the past when the Republican party of Indiana had dalliance with the liquor interests; but I beg to say to all who hear me to-day that when the platform of the last State Convention was read and received with cheers by the great masses who heard it, any dalliance between the Republican party and the liquor league was severed once and forever. When the resolution fell from the lips of my friend who sits yonder, Mr. Halford, of the *Journal*, as chairman of the committee on resolutions, a trumpet was sounded that will never call retreat. Why? Simply for the reason I have already given; the liquor league is an organization framed to defy the law, and, therefore, we are against it and it is against us. And yet, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding the fact that whenever you open the robe in which the Democratic party masquerades, you see some liquor league boodle sticking out, there are those who, like my friend, the Methodist bishop South, have got "past temperance," and are third-party men who make the welkin ring with the cry, "Smash the Republican party." Well, that is not a cry likely to draw Republicans into your party. Before me to-day is a great body of Republicans, young and old, full of pride in the old party; who believe that it has, under God, wrought out the best things that were ever achieved by any political organization; who believe that it has in it yet high capacities, and who are not amiably disposed when anybody says, "Smash the Republican party." If you want to persuade us, you will have to change that cry. And what next? Why do you want to smash the Republican party? Does the shield it carries cover the liquor league? No, my countrymen; now, henceforth, if not before, the shield it carries fronts the liquor league, and the point of its spear is toward that enemy of law and order. Why is it that we do not hear from our Prohibition friends the cry, "Smash the Democratic party?" Why is it, when the campaign is on, that the Democratic party newspaper becomes at the

same time a liquor league and a third-party organ? Simply because they hope thus to withdraw from the Republican party, by this third-party movement, enough votes to continue the liquor league and the Democratic party in power; they will have the spoils of office, and their shield will faithfully cover these violators of the law. I have said before, and I say now, that among this band of zealous third-party workers for prohibition there are devoted, faithful, earnest men and women. But, my friends, is it not a little hard, when the Republican party has sounded this note of defiance, and boldly confronts this organized traffic that you affect so much to reprobate, and the Democratic party allied with it, that we should hear the hoarse cry of the liquor league in our front, "Smash the Republican party," and from the rear should come also the piping cry of the third-party Prohibitionists, answering like an echo to the hoarse cry in our front, "Smash the Republican party?"

A voice—They won't smash it worth a cent.

Senator Harrison—No, they won't! [Applause.] Because, for one reason, the great body of that great pioneer church of the West, that paved the way for civilization and God in our woods, are unlike the bishop down South, and have not "got past temperance." Now, what are we going to do about it? Well, let us see. We said in our State platform that we were in favor of clothing local communities with power to act upon this question. There I stand for one to-day. I do not believe in State prohibition as the best method of dealing with this question. If you do, there is no reason why we should part to-day. There is good work that we can do together. The Republican party in the House of Representatives, so far as it could, kept the pledge of the platform. If you had helped us, my prohibition friends, to make the Senate Republican, that law would have been on the statute book to-day. I believe it is true, and can be demonstrated to be true, that if you had thrown your votes with us in the last campaign such a result could have been accomplished. Is it not worth while to work together? I believe that much depends upon the wise and thoughtful

reconsideration of all these questions by the temperance people of Indiana, and if they shall wisely think upon them and wisely give their vote and influence to the party that has started boldly in the direction of temperance reform, we shall certainly carry Indiana next year, and greatly advance the good cause of temperance reform.

The Soldiers' Friend.

I have no disposition to revive any unpleasant memories, but this resolution admonishes us, fellow-soldiers, that we must be on the alert, or some Democratic convention will put Lee into Grant's place and Stonewall Jackson into Sheridan's. God forbid that the soldiers of Indiana, of whatever political faith, should ever allow any other test of friendship than that of sympathy and co-operation in the cause for which they fought. What personal sacrifice is there to any of us in Congress when we vote pension money to the soldier? The man who lived through the war of the rebellion and did not make some sacrifice for the success of the Union armies—who did not say one brave word, or do one brave thing when, with bare and bleeding breasts, our soldiers looked into the face of hell for their country—can never be enshrined as the soldiers' friend.—[Speech at Indianapolis, Aug. 30, 1882.]

Subsidies for American Steamships.

Well, again, I want to see enough revenue saved to help put some American steamship lines on the sea. Every important nation of the old world subsidizes some of the great steamship lines that ply between its ports and the ports of foreign countries, either directly or by liberal pay for carrying the mail. Why I saw to-day in the *Journal* that for years the Argentine Republic, in South America, has been offering out of its treasury an annual bonus of \$100,000 to any company that would establish a regular steamship line between Buenos Ayres and New York city. That poor government has been

willing to do so much. It would develop for us a great trade and give an outlet for surplus manufactured products. Congress once placed in the control of the Postmaster-General a large sum of money that might have been so spent, but he refused to expend it; and so we stand to-day. Separated by so much shorter distance from these South American ports, our near neighbors, who ought to buy our goods and send theirs here, are in fact by reason of these steamship lines more near to England than to us, and she enjoys their trade. You all know Bayless Hanna. [Laughter and cries of "We do." Well, Bayless was chosen to represent us, I believe, at the court of the Argentine Republic, the very nation I have been speaking of, and he wanted to get there, and in order to get there—down our own coast—he had to go to Liverpool to get a ship to carry him there. Is it not a shame that an American ambassador cannot find an American ship out from any of our great ports to these ports of the South American States, but must cross the ocean eastward and put himself under the British flag in order to find the port where he is to set up over his house the American flag? Now, before we reduce the revenue too much, we want to get an administration that will respond to the demand of the people and of Congress that American ships shall have suitable encouragement to ply between these ports of South America and our own ports, to develop the great trade that we ought to have with them.—[Speech, Danville, Ind., Aug. 26, 1886.]

Ireland and Irishmen.

At a meeting held in Indianapolis on the 8th of April, 1887, General Harrison said:

"It may be suggested that we are engaged to-night in an act that savors somewhat of impertinence—that the question of the pending legislation relating to Ireland, which is the subject of discussion in the British Parliament, is not a proper subject of discussion in an American town meeting. But the man who makes that suggestion

does not understand the scope and powers of an American town meeting. We all understand that an American newspaper is free to discuss every question. There is no limit upon its jurisdiction. Now, the American town meeting has just as broad a jurisdiction. We have no official representations to make to the British government. It can take notice or not of what we do and say here, but all the same we will exercise the liberty of saying it. There was a time when communication with Europe was so tardy and difficult that America was separated in its sympathy, but that time has passed. The electric current has been put into service not only upon the land but under the seas. Nations have by this rapid intercommunication been tied together. The bonds of sympathy have been strengthened, mutual interests have been enlarged, and the time will soon come when the whole earth will be one commonwealth in sympathy and thought. Nothing involving the lives or liberties of men can happen now anywhere in the world, whether in the frozen north or in South Africa, that does not evoke interest and sympathy here. I am not here to discuss particular measures of relief for Ireland. I am not here to suggest that legislation should take this or that precise form, but all here will at least agree that it should be progressive in the direction of a more liberal government for Ireland than she now has. We are not here to suggest to Great Britain that she shall concede Irish independence. The disintegration of nations is seldom by parliamentary enactment. When that comes it comes as the fruit and result of successful revolution. We are here simply to say that, in our opinion as American citizens, what Ireland needs is not coercion, is not the constable, is not the soldier with musket and bayonet; but liberal laws, tending to emancipate her people from the results of long centuries of ill government, and that when this British Ministry starts in the direction of coercion, and postpones suggestions for reform until a coercion bill has been enacted, it is traveling in the wrong direction. It is not possible, in this age of the world, to govern a people as numerous

and inhabiting a country of such extent as Ireland by coercion. The period in the world's history when men might be governed by force—their inclinations coerced, their aspirations for participation in government suppressed—is passed away forever. More and more the American idea that government rests upon the consent of the governed is making its way in the world. If it be true that the British government finds difficulty in Ireland in impaneling juries that will convict for offences there against the landlord, it is because it is deeply settled in the convictions of those people that the laws are egregiously wrong in principle and hurtful in their application. Such a conviction cannot be removed by coercion; by finding another jurisdiction and venue in which to try those offenses, and the government becomes a failure when that becomes a necessity. We were not without experience in that in our own country at the close of the war. I unite with you as an American citizen in the expression of the hope that we shall soon witness the adoption of such measures as will win the Irish heart and give to the helpless and poverty-stricken in the land of their fathers contentment and prosperity.

General Harrison responded to the toast, "Washington as a Republican," at the banquet of the Michigan Club, Detroit, on the 22d of February. In the course of his remarks he made the following reference to the Irish question, in arguing for an equal ballot and equal representation in the Southern States:

There is vast power in a protest. Public opinion is the most potent monarch this world knows to-day. Czars tremble in its presence; and we may bring to bear upon this evil a public sentiment, by bold and fearless denunciation of it, that will do a great deal toward correcting it. Why, my countrymen, we meet now and then, with our Irish-American friends and lift our voices

in denunciation of the wrongs which England is inflicting upon Ireland. We do not elect any members of Parliament, but the voice of free America, protesting against these centuries of wrong, has had a most potent influence in creating, stimulating and sustaining the liberal policy of William E. Gladstone and his associates. Cannot we do as much for oppressed Americans? Can we not make our appeal to these Irish-American citizens who appeal to us in behalf of their oppressed fellow-countrymen to rally with us in this crusade against election frauds and intimidation in the country that they have made their own?

On the 5th of December, 1887, the citizens of Indianapolis gave a reception to Hons. Esmonde and O'Connor. At the close of the meeting, the report says:

General Harrison was loudly called for by the audience. He said: "The hour was already so late that he would detain the audience but a moment. He was glad to have the opportunity to hear the distinguished guests of the evening; men who in the British Parliament stand for home rule in Ireland. They have given me much fuller information than I had before of the oppressive character of the coercion acts. I was glad also to learn that the Irish people have shown such a steady and self-contained adherence to their rights, and such steadfastness in the assertion of them by lawful methods. We know that Irishmen have many a time in the struggle of their native land, and in our fight in America for constitutional government, thrown themselves upon the bayonet of the enemies of liberty with reckless courage. It is gratifying to know that they can also make a quiet but unyielding resistance to oppression by parliamentary methods. I would rather be William O'Brien in Tullamore jail, a martyr to free speech, than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin Castle."

The Sisters of Charity.

A fair for the benefit of a new St. Vincent's Hospital was opened in Indianapolis on the evening of June 11, 1888. The preparations were tasteful, and the ceremonies appropriate.

A report of the proceedings appeared in the papers of the city next morning, from which an extract is presented. Attention is called to the graceful remarks of General Harrison, including the purport of his tribute to the Sisters of Charity.

During the evening short addresses were heard from General Harrison, Governor Gray and ex-Governor Porter, who had accepted an invitation to be present. These gentlemen, along with Rev. Father O'Donaghue and other prominent representatives of the Catholic Church, took seats upon the stage shortly before 9 o'clock, in front of a large banner of red, white and blue, which concealed from the audience the dressing-room. Father O'Donaghue introduced the speakers with a few happy words.

General Harrison, on being introduced, said that when the committee had called upon him and asked him to make an address on the opening evening of the fair he was at first inclined to say that he had no time to make suitable preparation. But after a moment's reflection he considered that would not be a gracious thing to do, for the occasion was not intended to be one of personal dis-

play, but one in which a great public charity was interested. He felt that as a citizen of Indianapolis he should lend what encouragement he could to the magnificent enterprise there inaugurated. It was one in which every public-spirited citizen should be concerned, for if it were carried out according to the outlined plan it would be a credit to the State and city, to say nothing of the great good it would accomplish. Referring to the philanthropic nature of the enterprise he said it called to his mind two lines from Whittier:

I love my fellow-men—
The worst I know I would do good to.

He closed by paying a beautiful tribute to the deeds of the Sisters of Charity during the late war.

"There was no battle-field so perilous, or surgeon's table so bloody that these sweet-faced women were not there offering such aid and such benefactions as only a woman's hand could minister."

General Garrison and the Labor Strike of 1877.

It may be desirable to furnish the reader something which will enable him to form an idea of General Garrison in his distinctive character of citizen. Nothing is of such universal admission in the United States as that there are obligations peculiar to citizenship. One of them stands out in bold relief—every man shall hold himself ready

to respond promptly to a call by the constituted authorities to maintain peace and order, and defend life and property from threatened violence. In lands where the government rests upon regular armies this obligation is of less force than in ours where there is no guaranty of order except in the body of the people. As General Harrison's disposition in this respect is well shown in his relations to the great railroad strike of 1877 in Indianapolis, a brief narrative of that affair may be considered of pertinency.

The movement to which we refer began in the East. It had its origin in the belief of railroad employés that they were not receiving a sufficient compensation for their labor, and to right their wrongs generally they conceived the idea of taking possession of the property of the companies, and holding it until the companies acceded to their demands. There is little doubt that their complaints were in many instances founded in right. In that day the diversion of the earnings of roads to objects other than the support of the lines, and keeping them in good state, was more common than at present. Under that policy the employé in a subordinate capacity, the laborer as distinguished from the official, did unquestionably suffer, sometimes from insufficiency of pay, sometimes from absolute denial of wages actually due. The truth of the statement is confirmed by legislation since had looking to the enforcement of liens

for labor, and the ready recognition of such liens in the courts.

Spreading rapidly from the East the "strike," as the movement is more familiarly called, reached Pittsburg, and resulted there in serious loss of life and destruction of property. The public became alarmed. Some pretentious railroad towns were seized with fear approaching panic. The unrest, to speak mildly, that fell upon Indianapolis when, on the 23d July, the Union depot of the city was taken possession of by "strikers," may be imagined. The feeling was intensified by the arbitrary stoppage and detention of freight trains, and the consequent suspension of commerce. The only medium left for communication with the world outside was the telegraph, and that told of mobs in the streets of Chicago and Louisville and elsewhere. How long was the condition of siege to last? Nobody could answer. There was a universal cry that something should be done, and done immediately.

The cry, it is to be remarked, was not against the body of the strikers, most of whom were known as residents of the city, interested in its safety—orderly men, heads of families—but against the lawless element who saw nameless opportunities in the disturbance. The very presence of this latter class was a menace to life and property.

Hon. John Caven was mayor of the city, a

careful, prudent man, not easily alarmed. On the 24th he issued a proclamation for a meeting of citizens to consult as to measures for public safety. The object, it was expressly stated in the call, was to adopt "measures for the protection of life and property." Further, in his address to the mass meeting that responded, he said he had no fears from the strikers proper; but "there was a vicious element of population that was ready to do any act of violence for the purpose of plunder, and there was danger that such might take advantage of the strike to carry out their schemes." He concluded by suggesting the appointment of a Committee of Safety, and that companies be formed for military duty, if the exigency should require such a resort.

The meeting was irrespective of parties, and when a committee of twenty-five was chosen it was composed of Democrats and Republicans; there was in fact no thought of politics in the affair. And that the object in the military organization was not the levying of arms against the strikers, with intent to march upon them and shoot them down, is well proven by a motion of Hon. Franklin Landers, a distinguished Democrat, that a committee of ten of the most prudent that could be selected be appointed, "to confer with the committee of the strikers in a friendly spirit," and ascertain what their demands were, and endeavor to arbitrate between them and the

railroad companies. General Harrison was chosen one of this latter committee.

Next day the two committees, one on the part of the citizens, the other for the strikers, met in the city council chamber. In the course of the conference, as the newspapers reported, "General Harrison made an eloquent and logical speech of some length. He counselled obedience to the law, but at the same time expressed the opinion that the wages stated were too low, and desired very much that they should be raised. He was willing to use his influence with those in authority in favor of this desired increase."

Another meeting of citizens was held on the 26th of July, and, like the first one, it was irrespective of party. An Executive Committee was appointed. Judge W. Q. Gresham, Senator Joseph McDonald, General Harrison, and others of like character, were placed upon it. On the same day the State authorities took action. The following proclamation was issued by Governor James D. Williams:

THE STATE OF INDIANA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

A PROCLAMATION by the Governor relative to certain disturbances of the peace by striking employés of railroad companies

To the People of Indiana:

Many disaffected employés of railroad companies doing business in this State have renounced their employments because of alleged grievances, and have conspired to enforce their demands by detaining trains of their late employers, seizing and controlling their property, intimidating their managers, prohibiting by violence their attempts to conduct their business,

and driving away passengers and freight offered for transportation. The peace of the community is seriously disturbed by these lawless acts. Every class of society is made to suffer. The comfort and happiness of many families not parties to the grievances are sacrificed. A controversy which belongs to our courts, or to the province of peaceful arbitration or negotiation is made the excuse for an obstruction of trade and travel over the chartered commercial highways of our State. The commerce of the entire country is interfered with and the reputation of our community is threatened with dishonor among our neighbors. This disregard of law and the rights and privileges of our citizens and those of sister States cannot be tolerated. The machinery provided by law for the adjustment of private grievances must be used as the only resort against debtors, individual or corporate. The process of the courts is deemed sufficient for the enforcement of civil remedies, as well as the penalties of the criminal code, and must be executed equally in each case. To the end that the existing combination be dissolved and destroyed in its lawless form, I invoke the aid of all the law-abiding citizens of our State. I ask that they denounce and condemn this infraction of public order, and endeavor to dissuade these offenders against the peace and dignity of our State from further acts of lawlessness.

To the Judiciary: I appeal for the prompt and rigid administration of justice in proceedings of this nature.

To the Sheriffs of the Several Counties: I commend a careful study of the duties imposed upon them by statute, which they have sworn to discharge. I admonish each to use the full power of his county in the preservation of order and the suppression of breaches of the peace, assuring them of my hearty co-operation with the power of the State at my command, when satisfied that occasion requires its exercise.

To those who have arrayed themselves against government and are subverting law and order and the best interests of society by the waste and destruction of property, the derangement of trains and the ruin of all classes of labor, I appeal for an immediate abandonment of their unwise and unlawful confederation. I convey to them the voice of the law, which they cannot afford to disregard. I trust that its admonition may be so promptly heeded that a resort to extreme measures will be unnecessary, and that the authority of the law and the dignity of the State, against which they have so grievously offended, may be restored and duly respected hereafter.

Given at Indianapolis this 26th day of July, 1877. Witness the seal of the State and the signature of the Governor.

JAMES D. WILLIAMS.

This calmly worded proclamation was issued on the third day of the suspension of railway service in Indianapolis. The strike meantime had extended to Terre Haute. In other words, it was no longer a local affair. There was danger that it would involve the State. With this view of it, Governor Williams took immediate steps to make his official warning respected. He resolved to provide a military force. The State was full of experienced soldiers, but appreciating the need of a chief officer who had something more than experience, who was in nature prudent, judicious, conservative, he addressed a note to General Harrison, which we give as undoubtedly the highest personal tribute he ever received, coming as it did not merely from one differing from him in politics, but from the very man who had defeated him in the preceding gubernatorial race:

STATE OF INDIANA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
INDIANAPOLIS, July 26, 1877.

Dear Sir: I have to request that you will assume command of all the military forces organized and to be organized at the capital for the preservation of order and the protection of life and property during the existing emergency.

JAMES D. WILLIAMS,
Governor.

To Gen. BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Proceeding as it did from the Executive of the State, the letter must be construed as evidence that the "strike" had passed beyond the control of the civil authorities. Indeed, the Governor

expressly affirmed this fact in a succeeding paper of the same date.

General Harrison declined the commission with due acknowledgments, and upon the ground that he was then captain of a military company organized, under call of the Committee of Safety, for the protection of life and property. He also recommended the appointment of General Daniel Macauley to command the militia. The Governor acted upon the suggestion, and issued a commission as follows :

THE STATE OF INDIANA.

To All Who shall See these Presents Greeting:

Whereas, I have been officially informed of the existence in Marion and adjoining counties of an unlawful combination of disaffected employés of railroad companies whose lines centre at the capital, which threatens the property and lives of the community, and is beyond the power of the civil authorities to control, and may require the use of the militia;

Therefore, Know ye that in the name and by the authority of the State aforesaid, I do hereby appoint and commission Daniel Macauley, of Marion county, a Brigadier-General of the Indiana Legion, to command the organized militia, to serve as such from the 26th day of July, 1877, and until the emergency requiring this appointment shall have passed.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused to be affixed the seal of the State, at the city of Indianapolis, this 26th day of July, in the year of Lord 1877, the sixty-first of the State, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and second.

JAMES D. WILLIAMS.

The motive of the declination by General Harrison was past doubt that, while his connection with the military sufficiently identified him with the law and order party, he did not want to antagonize the good men amongst the strikers to a degree putting out of his power to assist all he

could in a peaceable settlement of the trouble. With this latter object he continued a member of the committee appointed, as has been seen, to confer with the committee of the strikers.

General Macauley called out several militia companies, and the drilling went on industriously. To support him, in case of need, a company of United States regulars marched into the city, in compliance with a request from Governor Williams. While these serious preparations were in progress, conferences with the strikers were unremitting. In one of them, on the 27th of July, a report was presented offering a basis of arrangement. After insisting that all unlawful means for redress must be first abandoned, the conference committee of citizens pledged themselves to exert their whole power and influence to obtain satisfaction for the strikers, and especially the increase of wages sought. This offer was accepted, and the Union depot given up. Traffic was resumed.

On the 29th of July the Committee of Safety published an address stating that order was restored, and congratulating the public that it had been done without bloodshed. The committee declared also that the "strikers" were not the dangerous element which they feared. They thereupon dissolved their organization.

That the committee was constituted of good men, irrespective of party—of Democrats and

Republicans—of men who wanted order and abhorred bloodshed, the signatures of the address amply established. Here they are: T. A. Morris, Benjamin Harrison, John Love, Joseph E. McDonald, Walter Q. Gresham, Conrad Baker, and A. W. Hendricks.

These gentlemen were all equally energetic in bringing the peaceable solution about. While General Harrison did not shirk duty in connection with the military, it cannot be said that he at any time counselled violence or was the enemy of the strikers. On the contrary, he was tireless in efforts to secure peace without fighting while the strike was on, and redress for the strikers when all was over. As has been said, he was at the same time a firm supporter of the government and a true and efficient friend of the men engaged in the movement.

His feelings towards the railroaders may be fairly inferred from a circumstance shortly succeeding the strike.

It happened that some of the railways involved were at the time in charge of the United States Court through receivers. Judge Drummond had a number of the men, supposed to be leaders, brought before him for contempt. General Harrison appeared for them voluntarily. He argued that they were all good men; that their claims were founded in justice; that they erred simply in the course taken to recover their dues. He

begged that they be not punished. The Judge viewed his plea favorably, and discharged them from arrest. They went to the General then, and thanked him for the part he had taken in their behalf.

During the session of the Committee of Safety there were hotheaded people who wanted the militia sent against the strikers. This General Harrison opposed vehemently. He urged that a peaceable settlement was possible, and declared, "I don't propose to go out and shoot down my neighbors when there is no necessity for it."

In confirmation of the above statements, we have certain accounts derived from Senator Joseph E. McDonald. That gentleman says:

I was associated with General Harrison in conferences with the strikers, and throughout he advised a peaceful settlement of the trouble. I have no recollection of his using any bloodthirsty language or insulting any representatives of the strikers during our conferences.

Mr. McDonald also says of this matter:

I don't think that will cut much of a figure as an issue in this campaign. The situation was threatening in Indianapolis then, and a committee on public safety was organized. There was a sub-committee appointed to endeavor to arrange a peaceful settlement of the difficulty, if possible, and to take what measures might be necessary to protect the public interests. Ben Harrison, ex-Governor Porter, ex-Governor Baker, Franklin Landers (afterward Democratic candidate for governor), and myself were that committee. We met a committee of the strikers in the Council chamber in a public confer-

ence. I talked to them, and told them that we sympathized with them and recognized their right to quit work if they were not satisfied with their wages or their employers; but that they had no right to prevent other men from working, and that when they attempted to do so they became law-breakers. General Harrison and the others also talked to them in the same strain.

As late as the 29th of June, 1888, Mr. McDonald supplements the foregoing:

The organization of that committee was for the purpose of providing protection for the city and property, if an emergency should arise to make such action necessary. It was not anticipated that any riot would be precipitated by the strikers, but beyond them, for which they were in nowise responsible, was a danger that had to be guarded against. It was on that account, and that alone, that the committee was organized. From its members a sub-committee of five, consisting of General Harrison, Albert G. Porter, Franklin Landers, ex-Governor Baker and myself, was chosen to consult with the strikers in order to bring about a peaceable solution of the difficulty. All of us on that committee were in accord, and our relations with the strikers were pleasant. Every member of the committee was in favor of peace, and there was no divergence of opinion.

The conduct of General Harrison in his capacity of citizen given above is in thorough keeping with his action in behalf of laboring men during his United States Senatorial term. In this latter, he lost no opportunity of manifesting interest in their behalf. The following synopsis will sustain the assertion:

March 8, 1886.—Mr. Harrison said: "I present a re-

solution adopted by the Fair-play Assembly of Knights of Labor, of Goshen, Ind., not formally addressed to the Senate, but evidently intended for its consideration, in relation to Chinese immigration and other bills pending in Congress affecting the laboring classes. I ask that the paper be received and referred to the committee on foreign relations."—[Rec., p. 2168.]

March 31, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor of Wabash, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which was referred to the committee on commerce.—[Rec., p. 2900.]

April 1, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor of Andrews, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which was referred to the committee on commerce, and said: "I present certain resolutions, certified by the recording secretary and under the seal of the assembly of Wabash Assembly, No. 2281, of the Knights of Labor, of Terre Haute, Ind., praying Congress to pass a law prohibiting aliens or their agents from securing vast tracts of the public domain. I believe this subject is under consideration by the committee on public lands at this time, and I will ask the reference of the resolutions to that committee."

Mr. Dolph.—A bill on the subject has been reported.

Mr. Harrison.—I am advised by the Senator from Oregon that the bill has been reported. I ask leave to say at this time that I know of few measures of greater importance than this. I noticed recently in one of the Chicago papers the results of some inquiry upon this subject, and it seemed to indicate that vast tracts of our domain, not simply the public domain on the frontier, but in some of our newer States, are passing into the hands of wealthy foreigners. It seems that the land reforms in Ireland, and the movement in England in favor of the reduction of large estates and the distribution of the lands among persons who will cultivate them for their own use, are disturbing the investments of some Englishmen, and that some of them are looking to this country for the acquisition of vast tracts of land which may be held by them and let out to tenants, out of the rents of

which they may live abroad. I think this evil requires early attention, and that Congress should, by law, restrain the acquisition of such tracts of land by aliens. Our policy should be small farms, worked by the men who own them. As the bill has been reported, I move that the resolutions lie on the table.—[Rec., p. 2982.]

April 6, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented memorials of Knights of Labor, of Elkhart, Jeffersonville, and Carbon, in the State of Indiana, remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which were referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a petition of Knights of Labor of Jeffersonville, Ind., praying that liberal appropriations be made for works of internal improvement, and especially for the construction of the Hennepin Canal, which was referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a petition of Knights of Labor of Carbon, Ind., praying that liberal appropriations be made for public works, and especially for the construction of a harbor of refuge at Sandy bay, Rockport, Mass., which was referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a memorial of Knights of Labor at Carbon, Ind.—[Rec., p. 3136.]

April 7, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented memorials of Knights of Labor of Frankfort and South Bend, in the State of Indiana, remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which were referred to the committee on commerce.—[Rec., p. 3175.]

April 10, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor of Cardonia, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill, which was referred to the committee on commerce. He said: "I present also the petition of C. H. Buthenbender and ten other officers and members of the three local assemblies of Knights of Labor at Fort Wayne, Ind., praying for the speedy passage of the bill providing for the arbitration of all labor disputes. The House bill on this subject, I understand, has been reported favorably by our committee on education and labor and is now upon the calendar. The petition will, therefore, under the rules, lie upon the table."

Mr. Cullom.—There is another bill on the same subject which was referred to the select committee on interstate commerce, and has not yet been reported; but probably the petition may as well lie on the table.

Mr. Garrison.—As the petition relates especially to the House bill I have referred to, I suggest that it lie upon the table. I do not desire to anticipate the discussion of that measure, which will soon come before the Senate, but the startling occurrences of which we have accounts from day to day in the newspapers are turning the attention of all lovers of good order and of the prosperity of the country to the necessity of providing some method of harmonizing the interests of the working classes and of the employers of labor. Arbitration is the only method that seems to be open for the peaceful, and speedy, and just settlement of such disputes. Arbitration, of course, must precede strikes. It implies calmness, and that is not to be found when the contest is once inaugurated and passions are aroused. I think so far as we can contribute by any congressional legislation to securing the just settlement by arbitration of all labor troubles we shall contribute greatly to the peace and happiness of the country.—[Rec., p. 3349.]

April 19, 1886.—Mr. Garrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor of Snoddy's Mill, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill; which was referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a memorial of the Knights of Labor of South Bend, Ind., remonstrating against the employment of convict labor on public works; which was referred to the committee on education and labor.—[Rec., p. 3598.]

April 21, 1886.—Mr. Garrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor, of Elkhart, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill; which was referred to the committee on commerce.

He also presented a memorial of Knights of Labor, of Elkhart, Ind., remonstrating against the employment of convict labor on public works; which was referred to the committee on education and labor.—[Rec., p. 3659.]

April 22, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor, of Logansport, Ind., remonstrating against the passage of the free-ship bill; which was referred to the committee on commerce.—Rec., p. 3713.]

April 30, 1886.—Mr. Harrison presented a memorial of Knights of Labor, of Indianapolis, Ind., remonstrating against the employment on public works of prison-contract labor; which was referred to the committee on education and labor.—[Rec., p. 3999.]

In acknowledging the receipt of the memorial from the Knights of Labor assemblies, Senator Harrison took occasion to express his concurrence in the opinion expressed in the memorials, that American ships should be built by American workmen, as appears in the above record; and in response received from some of the assemblies a resolution of thanks. He also supported the bill, now become a law, prohibiting the importation of foreign laborers under contracts made abroad to render service in this country. This measure was one that attracted the widest interest among the labor organizations in this country.

The Chinese Question.

In the winter of 1868 San Francisco was agitated by a startling rumor. It was reported that a Chinese delegation, of the most Mandarin sort, was preparing to visit the United States, with Anson Burlingame at its head. The object was to draw the two governments into closer commercial relations. The Occidental imagination is

proverbially quick at building upon suggestions. The illustrious child of the Sun, the August Sovereign of the mighty Ta-Tsing Empire, had at last been beguiled into throwing open the gates of his flowery land; the almond-eyed folk had fallen in love with the Americans, and would now come to see them, bringing presents in the shape of exclusive advantages, out of which wealth would pour in vaster tide than had flooded the English in the golden days of the East India Company. The same rich imagination wove scarfs and garments of cloth of gold, and wrapped them about the form of the hero who, having gone forth a plain minister of the United States to Imperial China, was now returning a stately Prince of Princes, to whose diplomatic address and honey sweetness generally the marvellous seduction was to be altogether attributed. Great was the silk-clad child of the Tá-Tsing! Great was Anson Burlingame!

The rumors at length became facts. On the 28th of April, 1868, a banquet was given at the Lick House in San Francisco in honor of the Hon. Anson Burlingame, which is yet a traditional splendor of the "sun-down" city. If the reader will let his eyes drop through the following partial list of guests in attendance on the occasion referred to he will understand what we would convey without requiring us to exhaust our poor vocabulary.

Governor Haight, Hon. Anson Burlingame, His Excellency Chih Tajen, Minister of the Second Rank; J. McLeary Brown, First Secretary of Legation; His Excellency Sun Tajen, Minister of the Second Rank; E. de Champs, Second Secretary of Legation; Frank McCoppin, Mayor of San Francisco; S. F. Butterworth; Henry Barroilhet, Consul of Peru; Don José A. Godoy, Consul of Mexico; G. C. Johnson, Consul of Norway and Sweden; William L. Booker, Consul of the British Empire; Henry W. Halleck, General commanding the Division of the Pacific; H. K. Thatcher, Admiral commanding the American Squadron on this coast; Ogden Hoffman, Judge of the District Court of the United States; Delos Lake, District Attorney of the United States; General McCook, United States Minister to the Sandwich Islands; Francis Berton, Consul of Switzerland; C. F. Mebius, Consul of Bavaria; James de Fremery, Consul of Belgium; R. B. Swain, Superintendent of the Mint; R. G. Sneath, President of the Chamber of Commerce; Thomas H. Selby, President of the Merchants' Exchange; Oliver Eldridge, Alvinza Hayward, James P. Pierce, Eugene L. Sullivan, Judge J. S. Hager, Edward Tompkins, Brigadier-General Leonard, Major-General W. S. Rosecrans, Charles Meinecke, Consul of the Republic of Bremen; Charles E. Hitchcock, Consul of the Hawaiian Islands; Major-General John

F. Miller, Collector of the Port; ex-Governor F. F. Low, Judge Sawyer, of the Supreme Court; Judge Currey, Senators Tubbs and Rose, W. C. Ralston, ex-Congressman William A. Howard, of Michigan; A. Stanford, Paymaster Doran, Philip W. Stanford, Major-General Ord, Alpheus Bull, and others.

And there were nuts, wines, fruits and flowers, the skimming of the vineyards and orchards of the Pacific slope; and of what worth are nuts, wines, fruits and flowers at a banquet without speeches? So there were speeches. The reader should not pass the annexed extracts from the few of the many deliverances that went to make that banquet a joy in memory forever.

General Halleck: "Not many years ago these Asiatic nations were excluded from the pale of European international jurisprudence. It was held by European statesmen, and the doctrine was advocated by John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, that Christian powers had a right to compel these un-Christian powers to trade with them in such articles and on such terms as they might see fit to dictate. . . . I regard this as the death of this idea, as one of the most important movements of recent times. It has broken down the barriers of Oriental and Occidental prejudice, and it will eventually lead to the harmony and civilization of the world. . . . If that civilization, which has so long moved westward with the star of empire,

is now purified by the principles of true Christianity . . . San Francisco must be made the abutment, from which is to be sprung forward the great international law which is to bridge across the Pacific Ocean."

Governor Haight: "A vast commerce is to be developed between China and the other nations of the earth; and California was to be especially benefited by it."

Minister Burlingame: "The fraternal feeling of 400,000,000 of people has commenced to flow through the land of Washington to the older nations of the West, and it will flow on forever. Who is there that would check it? Who is there that would say to China: We wish to have no other relations with you than such as we establish on our partial, and mean, and cruel interests at the cannon's mouth? I trust there are none such as these. I believe rather that this generous nation is a better exponent of the wishes of the West. I believe it represents more truly that large and generous spirit which is not too proud to learn and which is not afraid to teach; that great spirit which, while it would exchange goods with China, would also exchange thoughts with China, that would inquire carefully into the cause of that sobriety and industry of which you have made mention, that would learn something of the long experience of that people."

If we have indulged somewhat in badinage it is

because Californians with their great generous hearts are not easily affronted. He who is to-day a part of that marvellous success of the XIX. century, California, cannot only bear to be smiled at in a good-natured way, but can endure to be told, as we now tell him, that if his countrymen east of the Mississippi have been slow to realize the magnitude of the Chinese curse, his own lights, political and commercial, are primarily responsible for it. They were masters of ceremony at its introduction into all the Americas. They were the first to see a man and brother in the coolie. With this gentle reminder the badinage may be dropped.

Mr. Burlingame, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Emperor of China, supported by Chih-Kang and Sun Chia-Ku, "of the second Chinese rank," brought with him a new treaty of sundry articles, from which two passages are extracted:

"Article V. The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the *mutual* advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from the one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade or as *permanent residents*." . .

"Article VI. . . . And, reciprocally, Chinese subjects, visiting or residing in the United States, shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel or *residence*, as may there be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the *most favored nations*."

[See Laws of the U. S., 69-71, p. 392.]

The special mission of Envoy Burlingame was to have that treaty signed by the United States, and he succeeded. William H. Seward was signatory on the one part, and Anson Burlingame and his associate high envoys served the other party in like manner.

At length the people of the Pacific States awoke from the delusion which prevailed, as we have seen, at the Lick House banquet of April, 1868. The Chinese were not lovely at all; they were abominable, and it was resolved to get rid of them. A bill for the purpose was introduced into Congress, and finally passed. The first section contains these words: "That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is, hereby, suspended."

The act is known as the Chinese restriction law of May 6, 1882. At the time of its introduction and all through its pendency, General Harrison was a Senator from Indiana. The *Congressional Record* shows that he was opposed to it. It is true that on the 9th of March, when it was on passage, he, with Senators Hampton, of South Carolina, and Sewell, of New Jersey, was engaged in an investigation at the Soldiers' Home, and consequently absent when the final vote was taken; yet it is also true that on the 5th of April following President Arthur having vetoed the

bill, on a motion to pass it over the veto, Senator Harrison voted nay.

The reason of his opposition in that instance was simple, yet powerful. To understand its force, the reader must first compare the section of the act quoted with Articles V. and VI. of the Burlingame Treaty. The V. article recognizes and recites in the strongest language that the right of migration and emigration is one of the inalienable rights of men. Its effect was to extend the great American doctrine to the Chinese. The VI. article invested that people with the right of *residence* in the Republic upon an equal footing with citizens and subjects of the most favored nations. By virtue of the treaty, therefore, they could come and go or stay at pleasure, on the same footing, for instance, as Germans or Frenchmen. It was against this broad extension of privilege that the people of the Pacific States arose in protest, especially those of California. Recognizing, nevertheless, the sanctity of the treaty, steps were at length taken by the United States to have it modified. A new one was the result; viz., that of 1881. The chief amendment therein (Article I.) provides that, "Whenever in the opinion of the government of the United States, the coming of Chinese *laborers* to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country

or any locality within the territory thereof, the government of China agrees that the government of the United States may regulate, limit or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable, and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as *laborers*, other classes not being included in the limitation."

The amendment thus secured paved the way for the restrictive act of 1882, which President Arthur promptly vetoed.

Senator Harrison participated in the debate relating to the President's veto. In the course of his remarks, which were very few, we are informed of the reason of his opposition to the bill. The *Congressional Record* shows him replying to Senator Grover, of Oregon, who was urging that section fifteen of the act, by proper interpretation, included skilled artisans, to which the Chinese Commissioners had objected.

Mr. Harrison—I only want to make a suggestion. In the treaty the word "laborers" is used. I take it that it is not in the power of Congress to enlarge the meaning of the word. Whatever it meant in the treaty it would mean the same thing as used in the law; we cannot make it mean more than that. Therefore why not let it stand in the law as in the treaty, and let the use of that word include what it will?

And again :

Mr. Harrison—It is possible that the Senator is right in saying that the word may be construed differently;



JAMES G. BLAINE,
Ex-Secretary of State.

but can we enlarge the meaning of it as it is used in the treaty?

And again:

Mr. Harrison—He (Senator Grover) reads an extract from a paper to the effect that the word "laborers," as used in the treaty, or as used in the law, may be limited by a meaning applied to those who are unskilled. If the courts should so decide, giving that meaning to the word "laborers," as used in the treaty, would the Senator from Oregon be in favor of going beyond what we are authorized to do by treaty?—[*Cong. Rec., Pt. 4, p. 3359.*]

From these extracts it is apparent that Senator Harrison objected to the bill, not upon the ground of the restriction it sought to cover, but because, admitting the correctness of Senator Grover's claim, it appeared to him as fatally attempting to change the effect of the treaty.

Lest the objection be thought trivial, it may be as well to see what the Supreme Court of the United States has said as to the controlling force of a treaty over the action of Congress:

"A treaty is, in its nature, a contract between two nations, not a legislative act. It does not generally effect, of itself, the object to be accomplished, especially so far as its operation is intra-territorial; but is carried into execution by the sovereign power of the respective parties to the instrument. In the United States a different principle is established. Our Constitution declares a treaty to be the law of the land. It is, consequently, to be regarded in courts of justice as equivalent to an act of the legislature, whenever it operates of itself without the aid of legislative provision. But when the terms of the stipulation import a contract, *when either of the parties engages to perform a particular act*, the treaty addresses

itself to the political, not the judicial department; and the legislature must execute the contract before it can become a rule for the court."—[Chief-Justice Marshall, in *Foster vs. Neilson*, Sup. C. Decisions, 8th Curtis, 121.] So, too, Justice Miller, in 112 U. S. Reports, p. 598: "A treaty is primarily a compact between independent nations. It depends for the enforcement of its provisions on the interest and the honor of the governments which are parties to it. If these fail, its infraction becomes the subject of international negotiations and reclamations, so far as the injured party chooses to seek redress, which may in the end be enforced by war."

General Harrison was wanting neither more nor less than that the honor of the government should be cared for in the legislation designed to carry the treaty of 1881 into execution.

In the course of the proceedings a motion was made to strike out section 15, which provides that the words "Chinese laborers" shall be construed to include both skilled and unskilled laborers, and Chinese employed in mining; in other words, that the restriction should be applied without distinction of any kind. Senator Harrison voted—
Aye.

On the same day, April 28, 1882, Senator Edmunds offered an amendment that nothing in the act should be construed as changing the naturalization laws so as to admit Chinese to citizenship. Senator Harrison voted in favor of the amendment.

We think it clearly established by the foregoing references that General Harrison's opposition to

the act of 1882 was not because of the restriction proposed *per se*, but because of the interpretation sought to be attached to the word "laborers." To give greater significance to the interpretation, President Arthur had declared in his veto message that the American commissioners inserted in their draft of the treaty a provision that the words "Chinese laborers" meant all immigration other than that for "teaching, travel, study, and curiosity," to which the Chinese objected. The conflict, he thought, could be avoided by simple use of the word in a law as it was used in the treaty.

That this was General Harrison's view is further and absolutely confirmed by his action in connection with the subsequent act (now a law) of 1886. As a historical fact, the bill had been drafted by Senator Fair, of California, and the three Federal judges of the Pacific coast who were principally charged with the administration of the law in reference to Chinese immigration. There can be no question that it represented the sentiment of the great Pacific section. When introduced, it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which Senator Harrison was a member. It was reported back on the 26th of May, with recommendation of passage. The *Record* shows Senator Harrison absent and not voting when it was finally considered. But we are not left in doubt as to his position concerning it. Senator Sher-

man, in reporting it to the Senate, stated clearly and distinctly that the bill had received the unanimous support of the committee—meaning the entire committee. This, it will be seen, could not have been if Senator Harrison had not concurred with all his colleagues.

In conclusion, we think it has been fairly proved beyond any doubt that General Harrison is not so far friendly to the Chinese as to be inimical to the desire of his fellow-citizens of the Pacific coast to restrict the coming of the former to the United States.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CANDIDATE.

THE anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1888, was chosen as the day on which General Harrison should be officially notified of his nomination. At noon of that day, the committee appointed by the Chicago Convention waited on him at his home in Indianapolis, Hon. M. M. Estee, of California, at the head. Many people had gathered at the house, crowding the yard and the sidewalk, while the parlors were filled with ladies, newspaper men, and a few intimate friends. In honor of the day, the house was profusely decorated, and the display of the National colors on the houses of the neighbors was lavish enough to indicate that there was more than ordinary occasion for it. The members of the committee were escorted into the rear parlor of the house, while the ladies occupied the front parlor.

Immediately after General Harrison and his wife entered the room in which the committee was assembled, Chairman Estee stepped forward and read this address :

"GENERAL HARRISON :—We are commissioned by the National Republican Convention to offi-

cially notify you of your nomination as the Republican candidate for President of the United States. In doing this, we may be permitted to remind you that your selection met the hearty approval of the whole Convention ; it left no embittered feeling of lukewarm supporters, and its action voiced the average and the best judgment of the Convention. It is true distinguished gentlemen, well known to the people, who were experienced in public affairs, illustrious in character and worthy of the people's confidence and support, were before the Convention as candidates, and yet you were chosen. Nor was your nomination due to accident, or the result of hasty or inconsiderate deliberation. It indicated, rather, that you possessed in a more eminent degree those peculiar qualities which commended you to the people's favor. In the hour of our country's peril you cheerfully accepted a humble position in the army, went where your country most needed you, and by long and faithful service, rose to higher commands and assumed graver responsibilities. Elected to the United States Senate, your enlightened and conservative statesmanship commanded the respect and inspired the confidence of the American people. Added to this the purity of your past life and your exalted private virtues are an earnest that as a candidate for President, the honor of the Republican party and the glory of our country will be safe in your keeping.

"The platform adopted by the Republican National Convention marks out with clearness and precision the creed of the party. The American system of protection to American labor and American products in American markets, the sacredness and purity of the ballot, the protection of American citizens, native and adopted, at home and abroad, on land and sea, the prohibition of Chinese immigration, the building up of our navy, the erection of coast defences and the especial care of the old soldiers and sailors of the Republic are questions which occupy conspicuous places in our platform. These and other subjects referred to in the platform will doubtless receive your careful consideration. In conclusion, we beg to express our personal satisfaction at your nomination and we indulge the belief that your election is already assured."

Gen. Harrison's response was read from manuscript. It was :

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE :—The official notice which you have brought of the nomination conferred upon me by the Republican National Convention, recently in session in Chicago, excites emotions of a profound though somewhat of a conflicting character. That after full deliberation and free consultation the representatives of the Republican party of the United States should have concluded that the great principles enunciated in the platform

adopted by the Convention could be in some measure safely confided to my care, is an honor of which I am deeply sensible and for which I am very grateful. I do not assume or believe that this choice implies that the Convention found in me any pre-eminent fitness or exceptional fidelity to the principles of government to which we are mutually pledged. My satisfaction with the result would be altogether spoiled if that result had been reached by any unworthy methods, or by a disparagement of the more eminent men who divided with me the suffrages of the Convention. I accept the nomination with so deep a sense of the dignity of the office and of the gravity of its duties and responsibilities as altogether to exclude any feeling of exultation or pride.

"The principles of the Government and the practices in administration, upon which issues are now fortunately so clearly made, are so important in their relations to the National and to individual prosperity that we may expect an unusual popular interest in the campaign. Relying wholly upon the considerate judgment of our fellow-citizens and the gracious favor of God, we will confidently submit our cause to the arbitrament of a free ballot. The day you have chosen for this visit suggests no thoughts that are not in harmony with the occasion. The Republican party has walked in the light of the Declaration of Independence. It has lifted the shaft of patriotism

upon the foundation laid at Bunker Hill. It has made the more perfect union secure by making all men free. Washington and Lincoln, Yorktown and Appomattox, the Declaration of Independence and the Proclamation of Emancipation, are naturally and worthily associated in our thoughts. As soon as may be possible, I shall by letter communicate to your chairman a more formal acceptance of the nomination, but it may be but proper to say that I have already examined the platform with some care, and that its declarations, to some of which your chairman has made mention, are naturally and worthily associated in our common cause.

"It gives me pleasure, gentlemen, to receive you in my home and to thank you for the cordial manner in which you have conveyed your official message."

The ceremony was slightly formal, much more so, evidently, than suited the General's ideas of unrestrained cordiality, for he afterward remarked facetiously to a newspaper friend:

"This reading of compositions is a business that I am not accustomed to."

More than two months later General Harrison addressed to the same committee a formal and detailed letter of acceptance, in which he clearly defined the issues between the two great parties, and expressed his own views thereon. This mas-

terly document, a fitting forerunner of the State papers of his administration, was as follows:

"INDIANAPOLIS, IND., September 11th.

"*To the Hon. M. M. Estee and others, Committee:*

"GENTLEMEN:—When your committee visited me on the Fourth of July last, and presented the official announcement of my nomination for the Presidency of the United States by the Republican Convention, I promised as soon as practicable to communicate to you a more formal acceptance of the nomination. Since that time the work of receiving and addressing almost daily large delegations of my fellow-citizens has not only occupied all of my time, but has in some measure rendered it unnecessary for me to use this letter as a medium of communicating to the public my views upon the questions involved in the campaign. I appreciate very highly the confidence and respect manifested by the Convention, and accept the nomination with a feeling of gratitude and a full sense of the responsibilities which accompany it.

"It is a matter of congratulation that the declarations of the Chicago Convention upon the questions that now attract the attention of our people are so clear and emphatic. There is further cause of congratulation in the fact that the Convention utterances of the Democratic party, if in any degree uncertain or contradictory, can now be judged and interpreted by Executive acts and messages, and by definite propositions in legisla-

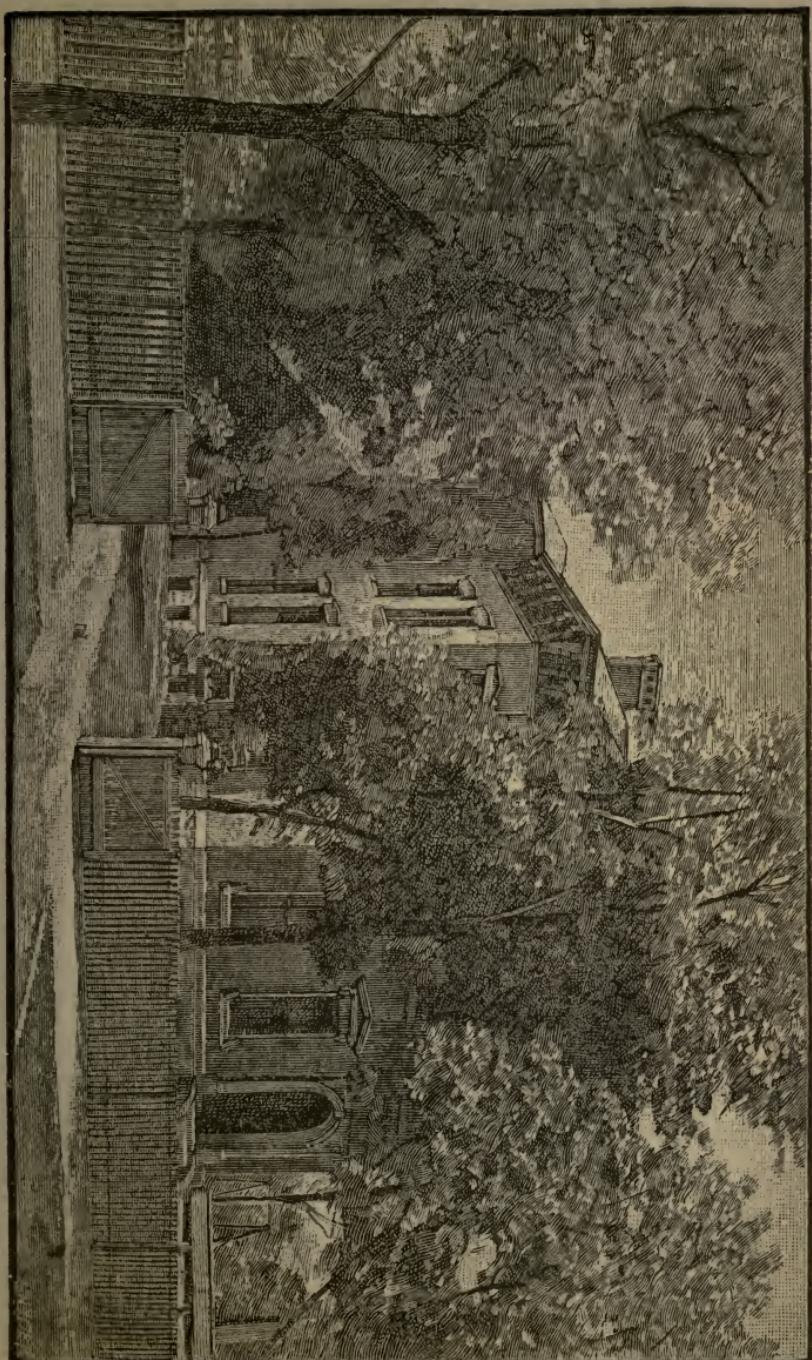
tion. This is especially true of what is popularly known as the tariff question. The issue cannot now be obscured. It is not a contest between schedules, but between wide-apart principles. The foreign competitors of our market have, with quick instinct, seen how one issue of this contest may bring them advantage, and our own people are not so dull as to miss or neglect the grave interests that are involved in them. The assault upon our protective system is open and defiant. Protection is assailed as unconstitutional in law, or as vicious in principle, and those who hold such views sincerely cannot stop short of an absolute elimination from our tariff laws of the principle of protection.

"The Mills bill is only a step, but it is toward an object that the leaders of Democratic thought and legislation have clearly in mind.

"The important question is not so much the length of the step as the direction of it. Judged by the Executive message of December last, by the Mills bill, by the debates in Congress, and by the St. Louis platform, the Democratic party will, if supported by the country, place the tariff laws upon a purely revenue basis. This is practical free trade—free trade in the English sense. The legend upon the banner may not be 'free trade'; it may be the more obscure motto 'tariff reform,' but neither the banner nor the inscription is conclusive, or, indeed, very important. The assault itself is the important fact.

" Those who teach that the import duty upon foreign goods sold in our market is paid by the consumer, and that the price of the domestic competing article is enhanced to the amount of the duty on the imported article; that every million of dollars collected for customs duties represents many millions more which do not reach the Treasury, but are paid by our citizens as the increased cost of domestic productions resulting from the tariff laws—may not intend to discredit in the minds of others our system of levying duties on competing foreign products, but it is clearly already discredited in their own. We cannot doubt, without impugning their integrity, that if free to act upon their convictions they would so revise our laws as to lay the burden of the customs revenue upon articles that are not produced in this country, and place upon the free list all competing foreign products.

" I do not stop to refute this theory as to the effect of our tariff duties. Those who advance it are students of maxims and not of the markets. They may be safely allowed to call their project 'tariff reform' if the people understand that in the end the argument compels free trade in all competing products. This end may not be reached abruptly, and its approach may be accompanied with some expressions of sympathy for our protected industries and our working people, but it will certainly come, if these early



PRESENT HOME OF HARRISON.

steps do not arouse the people to effective resistance.

"The Republican party holds that a protective tariff is constitutional, wholesome, and necessary. We do not offer a fixed schedule, but a principle. We will revise the schedule, modify rates, but always with an intelligent prevision as to the effect upon domestic production and the wages of our working people. We believe it to be one of the worthy objects of tariff legislation to preserve the American market for American producers and to maintain the American scale of wages, by adequate discriminating duties upon foreign competing products. The effect of lower rates and larger importations upon the public revenue is contingent and doubtful, but not so the effect upon American production and American wages.

"Less work and lower wages must be accepted as the inevitable result of the increased offering of foreign goods in our market. By way of recompense for this reduction in his wages, and the loss of the American market, it is suggested that the diminished wages of the workingman will have an undiminished purchasing power, and that he will be able to make up for the loss of the home market by an enlarged foreign market. Our workingmen have the settlement of the question in their own hands. They now obtain higher wages and live more comfortably than those of any other country. They will make choice between

the substantial advantages they have in hand and the deceptive promises and forecasts of those theorizing reformers. They will decide for themselves and for the country whether the protective system shall be continued or destroyed.

"The fact of a Treasury surplus, the amount of which is variously stated, has directed public attention to a consideration of the methods by which the National income may best be reduced to the level of a wise and necessary expenditure. This condition has been seized upon by those who are hostile to protective custom duties as an advantageous base of attack upon our tariff laws. They have magnified and nursed the surplus, which they affect to deprecate, seemingly for the purpose of exaggerating the evil in order to reconcile the people to the extreme remedy they propose. A proper reduction of the revenue does not necessitate and should not suggest the abandonment or impairment of the protective system. The methods suggested by our Convention will not need to be exhausted in order to affect the necessary reduction. We are not likely to be called upon, I think, to make a present choice between the surrender of our protective system and the entire repeal of the internal taxes. Such a contingency, in view of the present relation of expenditure to revenue, is remote. The inspection and regulation of the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine is important and the revenue derived from it is

not so great that the repeal of the law need enter into any plan of revenue reduction. The surplus now in the Treasury should be used in the purchase of bonds. The law authorizes this use of it, and if it is not needed for current or deficiency appropriations, the people, and not the banks in which it has been deposited, should have the advantage of its use by stopping interest upon the public debt. At least, those who needlessly hoard it should not be allowed to use the fear of a monetary stringency, thus produced, to coerce public sentiment upon other questions.

"Closely connected with the subject of the tariff is that of the importation of foreign laborers under contracts of service to be performed here. The law now in force prohibiting such contracts received my cordial support in the Senate, and such amendments as may be found necessary effectively to deliver our workingmen and women from this most inequitable form of competition will have my sincere advocacy. Legislation prohibiting the importation of laborers under contracts to serve here, will, however, afford very inadequate relief to our working people if the system of protective duties is broken down. If the products of American shops must compete in the American market, without favoring duties, with the products of cheap foreign labor, the effect will be different, if at all, only in degree, whether the cheap laborer is across the street or over the sea.. Such com-

petition will soon reduce wages here to the level of those abroad, and when that condition is reached we will not need any laws forbidding the importation of laborers under contract—they will have no inducement to come, and the employer no inducement to send for them.

"In the earlier years of our history, public agencies to promote immigration were common. The pioneer wanted a neighbor with more friendly instincts than the Indian. Labor was scarce and fully employed. But the day of the immigration bureau has gone by. While our doors will continue to be open to proper immigration, we do not need to issue special invitations to the inhabitants of other countries to come to our shores or to share our citizenship. Indeed, the necessity of some inspection and limitation is obvious. We should resolutely refuse to permit foreign Governments to send their paupers and criminals to our ports.

"We are also clearly under a duty to defend our civilization by excluding alien races whose ultimate assimilation with our people is neither possible nor desirable. The family has been the nucleus of our best immigration, and the home the most potent assimilating force in our civilization. The objections to Chinese immigration are distinctive and conclusive, and are now so generally accepted as such that the question has passed entirely beyond the stage of argument. The laws relating

to this subject would, if I should be charged with their enforcement, be faithfully executed. Such amendments or further legislation as may be necessary and proper to prevent evasions of the laws and to stop further Chinese immigration would also meet my approval. The expression of the Convention upon this subject is in entire harmony with my views.

"Our civil compact is a government by majorities; and the law loses its sanction and the magistrate our respect, when this compact is broken. The evil results of election frauds do not expend themselves upon the voters who are robbed of their rightful influence in public affairs. The individual, or community, or party, that practices or connives at election frauds has suffered irreparable injury, and will sooner or later realize that to exchange the American system of majority rule for minority control is not only unlawful and unpatriotic, but very unsafe for those who promote it. The disenfranchisement of a single legal elector by fraud or intimidation is a crime too grave to be regarded lightly. The right of every qualified elector to cast one free ballot and to have it honestly counted must not be questioned. Every constitutional power should be used to make this right secure and punish frauds upon the ballot.

"Our colored people do not ask special legislation in their interest, but only to be made secure

in the common rights of American citizenship. They will, however, naturally mistrust the sincerity of those party leaders who appeal to their race for support only in those localities where the suffrage is free and election results doubtful and compass their disfranchisement where their votes would be controlling and their choice cannot be coerced.

"The Nation, not less than the States, is dependent for prosperity and security upon the intelligence and morality of the people. This common interest very early suggested national aid in the establishment and endowment of schools and colleges in the new States. There is, I believe, a present exigency that calls for still more liberal and direct appropriations in aid of common school education in the States.

"The Territorial form of government is a temporary expedient, not a permanent civil condition. It is adapted to the exigency that suggested it, but becomes inadequate, and even oppressive, when applied to fixed and populous communities. Several Territories are well able to bear the burdens and discharge the duties of free commonwealths in the American Union. To exclude them is to deny the just rights of their people and may well excite their indignant protest. No question of the political preference of the people of a Territory should close against them the hospitable door which has opened to two-thirds of the exist-

ing States. But admission should be resolutely refused to any Territory, a majority of whose people cherish institutions that are repugnant to our civilization or inconsistent with a republican form of government.

"The declaration of the Convention against 'all combinations of capital,' organized in trusts, or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens,' is in harmony with the views entertained and publicly expressed by me long before the assembling of the Convention. Ordinarily, capital shares the losses of idleness with labor, but under the operation of the trust, in some of its forms, the wage-worker alone suffers loss, while idle capital receives its dividends from a trust fund. Producers who refuse to join the combination are destroyed, and competition as an element of prices is eliminated. It cannot be doubted that the legislative authority should and will find a method of dealing fairly and effectively with these and other abuses connected with this subject.

"It can hardly be necessary for me to say that I am heartily in sympathy with the declaration of the Convention upon the subject of pensions to our soldiers and sailors. What they gave and what they suffered, I had some opportunity to observe, and, in small measure to experience. They gave ungrudgingly; it was not a trade, but an offering. The measure was heaped up, run-

ning over. What they achieved, only a distant generation can adequately tell. Without attempting to discuss particular propositions, I may add that measures in behalf of the surviving veterans of the war and of the families of their dead comrades should be conceived and executed in a spirit of justice and of the most grateful liberality, and that, in the competition for civil appointment, honorable military service should have appropriate recognition.

"The law regulating appointments to the classified civil service received my support in the Senate, in the belief that it opened the way to a much-needed reform. I still think so, and therefore cordially approve the clear and forcible expression of the Convention upon this subject. The law should have the aid of a friendly interpretation and be faithfully and vigorously enforced. All appointments under it should be absolutely free from partisan considerations and influence. Some extensions of the classified list are practicable and desirable, and further legislation extending the reform to other branches of the service, to which it is applicable, would receive my approval. In appointments to every grade and department, fitness, and not party service, should be the essential and discriminating test, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenor of office. Only the interests of the public service should suggest removals from office. I know the

practical difficulties attending the attempt to apply the spirit of the Civil Service rules to all appointments and removals. It will, however, be my sincere purpose, if elected, to advance the reform.

"I notice with pleasure that the Convention did not omit to express its solicitude for the promotion of virtue and temperance among our people. The Republican party has always been friendly to everything that tended to make the home life of our people free, pure, and prosperous, and will in the future be true to its history in this respect.

"Our relations with foreign powers should be characterized by friendliness and respect. The right of our people and of our ships to hospitable treatment should be insisted upon with dignity and firmness. Our nation is too great, both in material strength and in moral power, to indulge in bluster or to be suspected of timorousness. Vacillation and inconsistency are as incompatible with successful diplomacy as they are with the National dignity. We should especially cultivate and extend our diplomatic and commercial relations with the Central and South American States. Our fisheries should be fostered and protected. The hardships and risks that are the necessary incidents of the business should not be increased by an inhospitable exclusion from the near-lying ports. The resources of a firm, dignified, and consistent diplomacy are undoubtedly equal to the

prompt and peaceful solution of the difficulties that now exist. Our neighbors will surely not expect in our ports a commercial hospitality they deny to us in theirs.

"I cannot extend this letter by special reference to other subjects upon which the Convention gave an expression. In respect to them, as well as to those I have noticed, I am in entire agreement with the declarations of the Convention. The resolutions relating to the coinage, to the rebuilding of the navy, to coast defenses, and to public lands, express conclusions to all of which I gave my support in the Senate.

"Inviting a calm and thoughtful consideration of these public questions, we submit them to the people. Their intelligent patriotism and the good Providence that made and has kept us a Nation, will lead them to wise and safe conclusions. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"BENJAMIN HARRISON."

During the campaign General Harrison remained most of the time at his home in Indianapolis. Almost daily he was visited by from one to half a dozen clubs, delegations, or other organized bodies, who came to congratulate him, to pledge him support, or to seek from him an expression of opinion on some topic of public interest. To each he made a frank, off-hand address, discussing the issues of the campaign in

the boldest and directest manner, but always speaking so wisely and so well that not once was he caught tripping by a political opponent, and not once did he utter a word to which exception could reasonably be taken.

Here are a few samples of his sententious utterances. On the subject of the American Union and the war for its preservation :

“ In nothing was this war greater than in that it led a race into freedom, and brought those whom we had conquered in the struggle into the full enjoyment of a restored citizenship, and shared again with them the responsibilities and duties of a restored Government.”—Indianapolis, June 30, 1888.

“ It is no time now to use the apothecary’s scales to weigh the rewards of the men who saved the country.”—Indianapolis, August 1, 1888.

“ We send to the South the assurance that we desire the stream of their prosperity shall flow bank-full. We would lay upon their people no burdens that we would not willingly bear ourselves.”—Indianapolis, July 19, 1888.

Of the Republican party and its principles and policy, he said :

“ The Republican party has walked in the light of the Declaration of Independence. It has made the Union more perfect by making all men free.”—Indianapolis, July 4, 1888.

“ The success of the Republican party has

always been identified with the glory of the flag and the unity of the Government."—Indianapolis, July 9, 1888.

"The Republican party has walked upon high paths. It has set before it ever the maintenance of the Union, the honor of the flag and the prosperity of our people. It has been the American party, in that it has always set American interests at the front."—Indianapolis, July 25, 1888.

"The Republican party has always stood for election reforms. No measure tending to secure the ballot-box from fraud has ever been opposed by its representatives."—Indianapolis, August 15, 1888.

Concerning the freedom and purity of the ballot:

"The theory upon which our Government is builded is that every qualified elector shall have an equal influence at the ballot-box with every other. Our constitutions do not recognize fractional votes; they do not recognize the right of one man to count one and a half in the determination of public questions. It is wisely provided whatever differences may exist in intelligence, in wealth, or in any other respect, at the ballot-box there shall be absolute equality. No interest can be truly subserved, whether local or general, by any invasion of this great principle. The wise work of our fathers in constructing this Government will stand all tests of internal dissension

and all tests of external assault, if we can only preserve a pure, free ballot."—Indianapolis, July 24, 1888.

"I hope the time is coming, and has even now arrived, when the great sense of justice which possesses our people will teach men of all parties that party success is not to be promoted at the expense of injustice to any of our citizens. * * * There is a sense of justice, of fairness, that will assert itself against attempts to coin party advantage out of public wrong. The day when men can be disfranchised or shorn of their political power for opinion's sake must have an end in our country."—Indianapolis, July 27, 1888.

"Any disturbance of the suffrage anywhere affects us all. * * * If the debate upon public questions is to be of value, the voter must be free to register his conclusions. The tribunal which is to pronounce upon the argument must not be coerced."—Indianapolis, July 28, 1888.

"Citizenship has its duties as well as its privileges. The first is that we give our energies and influence to the enactment of justice, equitable and beneficent laws. The second is like unto it—that we loyally reverence and obey the will of the majority enacted into law, whether we are of the majority or not. There is an open avenue through the ballot-box for the modification or repeal of laws which are unjust or oppressive."—Indianapolis, July 12, 1888.

"A manly assertion by each of his individual rights, and a manly concession of equal rights to every other man, is the law of good citizenship."
—Indianapolis, July 19, 1888.

The tariff being the leading issue of the campaign, he naturally devoted much attention to it in his speeches. Here are some of the things he said about the Republican policy of protection :

"The Republican party stands for the principle of protection. We believe in the preservation of the American market for American producers and workmen. We believe that the development of home manufactures tends directly to promote the interests of agriculture, by furnishing a home market for the products of the farm, and thus emancipating our farmers from the transportation charges which they must pay when their products seek distant markets. * * * I do not find myself in sympathy with that policy that denies the appropriations necessary for the proper defense of our people and for the convenient administration of our public affairs, in order that the threat of a surplus may be used for a sinister purpose. I believe that in reducing our revenues to the level of our needful and proper expenditures we can and should continue to favor and protect our own industries. * * * The Republican party has shown its capacity wisely to reduce our revenues and at the same time to protect the American system."—Indianapolis, July 28, 1888.

"It is one of the best elements in our strength as a State that our farm-lands are so largely possessed in small tracts and are tilled by men who own them. * * * God grant that it may be long before we have in this country a tenantry that is hopelessly such from one generation to another."—Indianapolis, August 3, 1888.

"Our party stands for the doctrine that the American market shall be preserved for our American producers. * * * Our sixty millions of people are the best buyers in the world, and they are such because our working classes receive the best wages in the world."—Indianapolis, July 31, 1888.

"I desire that our legislation may be of that sort that will secure the highest possible prosperity, wages that not only supply the necessities of life, but leave substantial margin for the comfort and for the savings bank. No man's wages should be so low that he cannot, in his days of vigor, make provision for the incapacities of accident or the feebleness of old age."—Indianapolis, July 13, 1888.

"The tide of emigration from European countries has been and is toward our shores. The gates of Castle Garden swing inward. They do not swing outward to any American laborer seeking a better country than this. Men who have toiled at wages in other lands that barely sustained life and opened no avenue of promise

to themselves or to their children know the good land of hope as well as the swallow knows the land of summer. They testify that here are better conditions, wider and more hopeful prospects, than in any other land. * * * The more work there is to do in this country the higher that wages will be paid for the doing of it. That policy which secures the largest amount of work to be done at home is the policy which will secure to our laboring men steady employment and the best of wages. A policy which will transfer work from our factories to foreign factories inevitably tends to the depression of wages here. * * * What is the best evidence of National prosperity and the best guarantee of social order, if not an intelligent, thrifty, contented working class."—Indianapolis, July 26, 1888.

"Heroes have been found at the throttle and the brake, as well as on the battle-field, and is well worthy of song and marble. * * * There is a relation between the wages of the skilled laborer and of the unskilled laborer, as truly as between the prices of two grades of cotton cloth. If the first is cut down, the other, too, must come down. If labor is thrown out of one line or avenue, by so much more will the others be crowded. Any policy that transfers production from the American to the English or German shop works an injury to all American workmen."—Indianapolis, July 13, 1888.

"I do not believe that a republic can live and prosper whose wage-earners do not receive enough to make life comfortable, who do not have some upward avenues of hope before them. When the wage-earners of the land lose hope, when the star goes out, after that, anarchy or the Czar."—Indianapolis, September 15, 1888.

And on the theme of American manhood and the American home he spoke thus:

"The home is the best, as it is the first, school of good citizenship."—Indianapolis, August 14, 1888.

"I am a thorough believer in the American test of character. The rule must be applied to a man's own life when his stature is taken. He will not build high who does not build for himself."—Indianapolis, July 27, 1888.

The campaign was waged with the utmost energy on both sides. The Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland, had the advantage of being already President, and of official support throughout the Union. But the issues enlisted for General Harrison's support many independent voters and even some Democrats who held the protection of American industry above party advantage.

Election day was November 6th, and the next morning it was known that General Harrison had been handsomely elected President of the United States. The vote, both popular and electoral, was as follows:

STATES.	POPULAR VOTE.				ELECT'RAL VOTE	
	Harrison. Rep.	Cleveland. Dem.	Streeter. Un. Lab.	Fisk. Pro.	Harris- son.	Cleve- land.
Alabama, . . .	57,197	117,320	. . .	593	. . .	10
Arkansas, . . .	58,752	85,962	10,613	614	. . .	7
California, . . .	124,816	117,729	. . .	5,761	8	. . .
Colorado, . . .	51,796	37,610	112	2,210	3	. . .
Connecticut, . .	74,584	74,920	240	4,234	. . .	6
Delaware, . . .	12,973	16,414	. . .	400	. . .	3
Florida, . . .	26,659	39,501	. . .	403	. . .	4
Georgia, . . .	40,446	100,449	. . .	1,808	. . .	12
Illinois, . . .	370,475	348,371	7,134	21,703	22	. . .
Indiana, . . .	263,361	261,013	2,694	9,881	15	. . .
Iowa, . . .	211,958	179,877	9,105	3,550	13	. . .
Kansas, . . .	182,904	102,745	37,788	6,779	9	. . .
Kentucky, . . .	155,134	183,800	. . .	5,225	. . .	13
Louisiana, . . .	30,701	85,026	39	127	. . .	8
Maine, . . .	73,734	50,482	1,345	2,690	6	. . .
Maryland, . . .	99,986	106,168	. . .	4,767	. . .	8
Massachusetts, .	183,892	151,855	. . .	8,01	14	. . .
Michigan, . . .	236,387	213,469	4,555	20,945	13	. . .
Minnesota, . . .	142,492	104,385	1,097	15,311	7	. . .
Mississippi, . .	30,096	85,471	222	218	. . .	9
Missouri, . . .	236,253	261,954	18,589	4,540	. . .	16
Nebraska, . . .	108,425	80,552	4,226	9,429	5	. . .
Nevada, . . .	7,238	5,326	. . .	41	3	. . .
New Hampshire, .	45,728	43,456	42	1,593	4	. . .
New Jersey, . .	144,360	151,508	. . .	7,933	. . .	9
New York, . . .	650,338	635,695	626	30,231	36	. . .
North Carolina, .	134,784	147,902	. . .	. . .	. . .	11
Ohio, . . .	416,054	396,455	3,496	24,356	23	. . .
Oregon, . . .	33,291	26,522	363	1,677	3	. . .
Pennsylvania, .	523,585	444,327	3,877	20,708	30	. . .
Rhode Island, . .	21,969	17,530	. . .	1,251	4	. . .
South Carolina, .	13,740	65,825	. . .	. . .	. . .	9
Tennessee, . . .	138,988	158,779	. . .	5,969	. . .	12
Texas, . . .	88,280	234,883	29,459	4,749	. . .	13
Vermont, . . .	45,192	16,788	. . .	1,459	4	. . .
Virginia, . . .	150,438	151,977	. . .	1,678	. . .	12
West Virginia, .	78,364	78,916	434	595	. . .	6
Wisconsin, . . .	176,553	155,232	8,552	14,277	11	. . .
Total, . . .	5,441,923	5,536,524	144,608	246,406	233	168
Per cent., . . .	47.83	48.63	1.27	2.16	. . .	. . .
Plurality, . . .	. . . . .	94,601	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .

General Harrison thus received (half a million Republican voters not voting on account of color and previous condition of servitude) a minority of the popular vote; but in the Electoral College he had 233 votes against 168 cast for his opponent, and he was thus elected.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRESIDENT.

General Harrison left his home in Indianapolis, on February 25, 1889, to go to Washington and assume the duties of the highest office in the American Republic. His departure was effected as quietly and with as little ceremony as possible. He was escorted to the railroad station by some of his Grand Army comrades, and a considerable throng of people gathered on and about the platform to bid him farewell. To them he made a brief address, and then the train moved away. At every stopping place a throng was gathered and he made a brief speech. The next day he reached Washington and went at once to the Arlington Hotel, where he was besieged by callers. The next day, he and Mrs. Harrison were the guests of the President and Mrs. Cleveland at the White House.

The inauguration of the new President occurred on March 4th, the President making his address on the terrace of the Capitol, in the presence of an enormous multitude, who were not deterred from attendance by the fact that a cold rain storm was in progress. In his address, Mr. Harrison

discussed eloquently and with a broad and statesmanlike spirit, the chief topics of public interest. He reaffirmed his earnest belief in the American policy of a protective tariff. He rejoiced in the disappearance of the sectional spirit, but insisted that in all the States of the Union equal electoral and other political rights must be assured to all citizens. The question of the control of corporations and the relations of capital and labor, the naturalization laws and the qualifications of citizenship, foreign relations, personal and commercial rights abroad, arbitration, the civil service, the national finances, the rebuilding of the navy, pensions, the admission of Territories as new States, and the reform of election laws, were all touched upon frankly and emphatically.

"Let us exalt patriotism," said the President, in conclusion, "and moderate our party contentions. Let those who would die for the flag on the field of battle, give a better proof of their patriotism and a higher glory to their country by promoting fraternity and justice. No other people have a government more worthy of their respect and love, or a land so magnificent in extent, so pleasant to look upon, and so full of generous suggestion to enterprise and labor. God has placed upon our head a diadem, and has laid at our feet power and wealth beyond definition or calculation. But we must not forget that we take these gifts upon condition that justice and mercy

shall hold the reins of power, and that the upward avenues of hope shall be free to all the people. I do not mistrust the future. Dangers have been in frequent ambush along our path, but we have uncovered and vanquished them all. Passion has swept some of our communities, but only to give us a new demonstration that the great body of our people are stable, patriotic and law-abiding. * * * * And when the harvest from the fields, the cattle from the hills, and the ores from the earth, shall have been weighed, counted and valued, we will turn from them all to crown with the highest honor the State that has most promoted education, virtue, justice and patriotism among the people."

On the day following his inauguration, President Harrison sent to the Senate for confirmation, the following nominations of members of his Cabinet:

James G. Blaine, of Maine, to be Secretary of State.

William Windom, of Minnesota, to be Secretary of the Treasury.

Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, to be Secretary of War.

William H. H. Miller, of Indiana, to be Attorney-General.

John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, to be Postmaster-General.

Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York, to be Secretary of the Navy.

John W. Noble, of Missouri, to be Secretary of the Interior.

Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, to be Secretary of Agriculture.

Three Cabinet changes have occurred during the President's term of office. Secretary Windom died suddenly, and was succeeded by the Hon. Charles Foster, of Ohio. Secretary Proctor resigned to become United States Senator, and was succeeded by the Hon. Stephen B. Elkins, of West Virginia. Secretary Blaine's resignation was tendered and accepted on the eve of the Minneapolis Convention.

The history of the President's administration, recorded fully, would be the history of the nation for his term. It cannot fully be told within the compass of a single volume; or, as is here the case, within a single chapter. Only a few salient points may be referred to. In the Department of State, many important works were promptly taken up and executed with honor to the administration and to the country. A serious controversy with Germany, in regard to American rights in Samoa, was the first to be settled. Germany was convinced it was wise to recede from the attitude she had assumed, and a treaty was concluded which was an unqualified triumph for American diplomacy, as well as for justice and peace. Next, an extradition treaty was negotiated with Great Britain, which was a positive improvement upon

its predecessors. An International Marine Conference was held in Washington, which brought together the representatives of twenty-six nations, and which did much to promote beneficial international legislation for the protection of life and property upon the high seas. A congress of representatives of all nations on the American continents was also held, which did much to strengthen the ties of friendship and of commerce between those nations and to promote their mutual interests. Concerning this phase of the administration's work, the cultivation of reciprocal relations between the nations of the American continent, and also between other foreign powers, we take pleasure in presenting the following paper, prepared for this work by the Hon. William Eleroy Curtis, the Chief of the Bureau of the American Republics:

COMMERCIAL RECIPROCITY.

By HON. WILLIAM E. CURTIS,

CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF THE AMERICAN RE-
PUBLICS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The present endeavor to extend the export trade of the United States in the Latin-American Republics and Colonies, by means of reciprocity treaties, was inaugurated in 1882. Railway communication having been opened with Mexico, it was believed that the geographical and political relations between the two countries, as well as their commercial welfare, justified mutual concessions in customs duties. In consequence, General Ulysses S. Grant and William H. Trescot, representing this Government, negotiated a treaty under which certain merchandise from the United States was to be admitted free of duty into Mexico, and certain products of that country were to be admitted free into the United States. This treaty, however, failed to be confirmed by the Congress of the United States, as did similar treaties made with Spain in behalf of Cuba and Porto Rico, and with San Domingo.

During the year 1884, President Arthur, under the authority of Congress, appointed a commission "to ascertain the best modes of securing more intimate international and commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America."

This commission visited the several American Republics with instructions (1) to ascertain by inquiry the opinions of merchants actually engaged in trade concerning the most practical means of promoting commerce with the United States; (2) to confer with the several Governments as to the advisability of holding an International American Conference, and obtain their views as to what topics should be discussed at such a gathering; and (3) to initiate reciprocity treaties similar to those already arranged with Mexico and Spain, with such of the American Republics as desired to enter into negotiations for that purpose.

The commission returned to Washington and made its report. With a single exception, the Governments visited expressed not only a willingness, but a desire to enter into reciprocal arrangements with the United States, and in several cases a definite understanding was reached and protocols exchanged.

The commission recommended that an International Conference be held at Washington, to which all of the Republics visited had consented to send delegates, and a list of topics for consid-

eration was submitted. On the 10th of May, 1888, a bill was passed by Congress to carry out that recommendation, and on the 20th of the same month, it became a law without the approval of the President. In consequence, invitations were issued to the several Governments interested, to participate in a Conference to be held in Washington, on the 2d of October, 1889.

This conference assembled, elected for its president James G. Blaine, Secretary of State of the United States, who had, eight years before, as Secretary of State to President Garfield, advocated and arranged for a similar conference, and proceeded to consider the several questions brought before it, all looking towards an intimate alliance between the nations of the Western Hemisphere. As regards commercial union, the decision of the delegates was indicated in a letter, dated June 19, 1890, from Secretary Blaine to the President, in which he stated that fifteen of the seventeen Republics represented in the International American Conference had indicated a desire to enter upon reciprocal commercial relations with the United States, the remaining two—Chili and the Argentine Republic—declining to do so unless Congress should reduce the duties on wool—their leading article of export.

Mr. Blaine proceeded to recommend a line of policy, which has since been adopted with promise of the most beneficial results to the United States.

This was, to introduce into the tariff bill then pending before Congress, a reciprocity clause, providing for mutual free trade or reduced rates of duty between the several countries mentioned.

"To escape the delay and uncertainty of treaties," Mr. Blaine suggested, "an amendment to the pending tariff bill authorizing the President to declare the ports of the United States free to all the products of any nation of the American hemisphere upon which no export duties are imposed, whenever, and so long as, such nation shall admit to its ports free of all national, provincial (state), municipal, and other taxes, our flour, corn meal, and other breadstuffs, preserved meats, fish, vegetables and fruits, cotton-seed oil, rice and other provisions, including all articles of food, lumber, furniture and other articles of wood, agricultural implements and machinery, mining and mechanical machinery, structural steel and iron, steel rails, locomotives, railway cars and supplies, street cars and refined petroleum. I mention these particular articles because they have been most frequently referred to as those with which a valuable exchange could be readily effected. The list could no doubt be profitably enlarged by a careful investigation of the needs and advantages of both the home and foreign markets."

In conclusion the Secretary of State observed: "Of course the exchanges involved in these

propositions would be rendered impossible if Congress, in its wisdom, should repeal the duty on sugar by direct legislation, instead of allowing the same object to be attained by the reciprocal arrangement suggested."

This letter was forwarded to Congress by the President, with the purpose of having a reciprocity measure incorporated in the McKinley Tariff Bill, whose proposed changes in the duties upon sugar, hides, carpet wools, and some other articles extensively imported by the United States from the Central and South American Republics, had aroused apprehensions in the minds of the delegates from those countries, the Secretary of State had sought personal interviews with the members of the majority of the Committee on Ways and Means, as early as February, 1890, in which he urged them not to disturb the then existing tariff schedules so far as those articles were concerned. He assured the Committee of his confidence that the International Conference would take positive action on the question of reciprocity, and that by subsequent diplomatic negotiations very valuable concessions might be obtained from the Governments therein represented, in favor of the agricultural and mechanical products of the United States, which would be impossible if the duty upon sugar were removed and the duties upon hides, carpet wools and other articles increased, as was then proposed. He also informally submitted to

the Committee an amendment to the tariff bill, which embodied the same proposition that was contained in the letter addressed to the President in the month of June following.

It was a positive proposition, making the removal of the sugar duty, and the retention of other tropical products upon the free list of our tariff, contingent upon the granting of equivalent concessions in favor of the products of the United States.

This amendment, not having been accepted by the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, was afterward introduced in the Senate, by Mr. Hale, of Maine, at the instance of the Secretary of State, and referred to the Committee on Finance, when it received more favorable consideration.

The so called Reciprocity section of the McKinley bill, prepared by Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, was the result of a compromise between those who favored the absolute and unconditional repeal of the sugar tariff, and those who desired to confer upon the Executive a discretionary power to use that duty in negotiating for new and wider markets for our products.

Immediately upon the passage of the measure, diplomatic negotiations that had been interrupted by the tariff agitation in Congress were resumed. It may be said that such negotiations, with special plenipotentiaries from the Emperor of Brazil, had

been commenced as early as August, 1889, and that upon the establishment of the Republic, they were immediately renewed. It was not long, therefore, before an arrangement was concluded, under which the Brazilian Government authorized the admission into its ports free of all duties, of the products of the farms and mines of the United States, all forms of machinery and railway supplies, agricultural implements, labor-saving machinery and a considerable number of other articles, and the admission of a long list of other manufactured articles, including wearing apparel, hardware, preserved meats, fruits and vegetables, lard, dairy products, lumber, furniture, wagons and carriages, at a rate of duty twenty-five per cent less than that imposed upon similar articles imported from other countries.

A similar arrangement was shortly after made by John W. Foster, representing the Secretary of State, with the Government of Spain acting for her American Colonies, Cuba and Puerto Rico, and also with Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Salvador, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua, Honduras, and with the Commissioners from the British Colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, Guiana, the Leeward Islands, and the Windward Islands.

Treaties were also made with Germany and Austria under which, in consideration for the free admission of their beet sugar into the United States, the agricultural products from this country

are to be admitted into their ports at largely reduced rates of duty.

Arrangements of the same character are in progress, and will soon be concluded, with others of the American Republics and Colonies, and with France and other European nations, affording the manufacturers and farmers of the United States an opportunity to introduce their products into the markets of these countries under advantages that are not enjoyed, and cannot be obtained, by their rivals.

It cannot be expected that the full effect of these arrangements will be immediately felt, or their importance immediately realized; but there has already been a noticeable increase in the exports from the United States to the countries with which they have been negotiated. The treaty with Brazil went into force on the 1st of April, 1891, and during the thirteen months ending April 30th—the latest date for which the statistics have been furnished—the exports of domestic merchandise to that country were valued at \$15,622,627, an increase of \$932,348, or about six per cent. above those for the corresponding period of the previous year. During the month of August alone, there was an increase in the value of merchandise exported to Brazil of \$702,903, and it was participated in by nearly every agricultural and manufactured product of this country.

The treaties with Santo Domingo, Cuba and Puerto Rico did not go into force until the first of September, and there has been little opportunity to judge of their value; but the increase in shipments from the United States to those countries since that time have been very satisfactory. During the eight months since these treaties went into effect—that is, between September 1 and April 30, 1892—the domestic exports to Cuba were \$13,104.879—an increase of \$4,196,942 over the corresponding period of 1891. In the month of December alone, this increase amounted to \$848,561, while the average monthly increase was \$524,000. The merchandise imported at Havana alone from the United States from January 1 to April 23, 1892, amounted to 1,672,147 packages as against 1,037,105 for the corresponding period of the previous year, which shows an increase of about 62 per cent. On the 1st of January the duty on flour imported into Cuba from the United States was abolished. The result shows the benefit of a reciprocity treaty. During the month of January, 1891, there were imported into Havana 2,720 bags of flour from the United States, and 38,439 bags from Spain. During the month of January, 1892, there were imported into Havana 62,371 bags of flour from the United States, and none from Spain. During the month of January, 1891, there were imported into all the ports of Cuba from the United States 9,234 bags

of flour. During the month of January, 1892, 64,478 bags of flour were imported—an increase of more than 700 per cent.

The exports to Puerto Rico during the eight months since the reciprocity treaty went into effect were valued at \$1,784,189—an increase over the corresponding period for 1891 of \$338,322.

The results sought and expected from the reciprocity policy cannot, however, be accomplished without the enlistment of private enterprise. The Government has obtained advantages for the merchants and manufacturers, which they are able to enjoy at their pleasure; but many serious obstacles to an increase of trade remain, which must be overcome by individual zeal and intelligence. By the arrangements already negotiated, a population of more than seventeen millions of people have been enabled to purchase the products of the United States at prices very largely below what they have hitherto been compelled to pay, but to place those products in their reach is the province of the individual rather than the Government. The merchants and manufacturers of Europe, by a long and careful study of the tastes and requirements of consumers in Central and South America, and the West Indies; by the establishment of agencies; by the granting of liberal credits, and intelligent advertising, have obtained control of the trade, and cannot be expected to retire from a large and lucrative market

without resistance. That resistance has been seriously felt in the negotiation of the treaties, and will be encountered in an even greater degree by those who attempt to take advantage of the opportunities secured.

But the fact that the efforts of the Government are appreciated, and reinforced by those for whose benefit they are intended, is fully demonstrated by the postal statistics, and the passenger lists of outgoing steamers. Commercial travelers from the United States are now to be found in every city of this hemisphere south of the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande, and the mails forwarded in that direction are laden with catalogues and price-lists and circulars intended to bring to the attention of importing merchants the superiority and the cheapness of American goods. The total weight of letters sent from the United States to the Latin-American countries and colonies during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1890, was 18,330,410 grams. The weight of letters sent during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, was 25,137,374 grams—an increase of 6,806,964 grams, or more than thirty-seven per cent. An even greater increase is shown in the weight of printed matter sent by post, which amounted to 236,888,473 grams in 1890, and 315,536,050 grams in 1891—an increase of 78,647,577 grams, or more than thirty-six per cent.

That a Government may do much to increase

the trade of its people by legislative and executive acts is not only demonstrated by the commercial history of England, Germany and France, but with equal force by the statistics of our own exports to the Latin-American countries since the movement to seek markets in their direction began. In 1885, the exports from the United States to those countries amounted to sixty-two million dollars, in 1887 to sixty-eight millions, in 1891 to ninety-one millions; and these figures do not include the enormous overland traffic with Mexico since the four railways connecting the two Republics were opened. Unfortunately there is no law requiring the collection of statistics of exports from the United States by land, and the reports by the Bureau of Statistics only represent the exports by sea. These show an increase from seven to thirteen millions during the past five years, while the official returns of the Mexican Government show an increase from seven millions to forty millions, which bring the total exports to Latin-America in 1891 to nearly one hundred and twenty-six millions of dollars, more than double what they were in 1885.

This is the result of agitation, of advertising, of awakening an interest among the merchants of the United States in markets to which they had previously been indifferent. Those markets have not been sought by impairing the price or the quality of our goods. We have sacrificed none

of the protection that American capital and labor have enjoyed, but have simply asked our neighbors, to whom we have opened our markets, to apply to trade that principle of reciprocity which was pronounced nineteen hundred years ago by the wisest teacher of economics, philosophy and statesmanship the world has ever known.

In 1870 we took the duty off rubber. In 1872 we took the duty off hides. In 1873 we took the duty off coffee, without asking Brazil or Venezuela or any other nation from whence these products came, to make us concessions in return. For the last eighteen years, eighty-seven per cent. of the products we purchase in the Republics of Central and South America has been admitted free to our Custom Houses, and when the last Congress removed the duty upon sugar, but three per cent. of our entire imports from those nations were referred to in the tariff schedules.

The reciprocity policy is not intended to advance the ambition of any man, or promote the success of any party. There is no politics in it. It is purely a commercial transaction, a plain, simple and wise proposition, such as every merchant and manufacturer employs in the conduct of his own business, based upon ordinary common-sense, but so far-reaching in its influence, that, if it be carried out successfully, its effect will be felt in the income of every farmer, in the profits of every merchant, and in the wages of every mechanic and laborer in this land.

It is simply an endeavor to apply the golden rule to commerce; to persuade our neighbors to make concessions in favor of our products, in return for the concessions we have already made in favor of theirs; to secure for the farmer and manufacturer of the United States some advantages that their rivals in other countries may not enjoy; and to increase the purchasing power of the consumers in the other American nations by reducing the cost of certain merchandise of which they, by reason of the high duties imposed upon it, are in a great measure deprived. It requires no argument to demonstrate that the people of Cuba will consume more flour if the duty on that article is reduced from \$5.78 to 90 cents a barrel, or that the people of Brazil will buy their cotton goods in the United States if they can import them from this country at a duty of 25 per cent. less than they must pay on the same articles when imported from Europe. And when one considers that the value of cotton goods imported into the Latin-American countries annually reaches beyond a hundred millions of dollars, it is a waste of time to discuss the advantage of securing such a concession.

The annual imports of the Latin-American countries average six hundred millions of dollars, and of these we have usually furnished about ten per cent. The annual exports of the Latin-American countries average about six hundred millions,

and of these we bought last year nearly two hundred millions or about thirty-three per cent. In their commerce with Great Britain, these conditions are reversed.

During the last ten years, we have purchased of those countries merchandise to the value of fifteen hundred millions of dollars ; and we have sold them merchandise to the value of five hundred millions. The difference, one thousand millions of dollars, they have expended in Europe for articles nearly every one of which we could have furnished.

Recent events in South America have been construed by some to mean retrogression, but the revolution in Chili was the protest of an intelligent and progressive people against tyranny and dictatorship ; and its result establishes the fact that monarchies, under whatever name they may be established, cannot be maintained upon this continent. The revolution in the Argentine Republic a year ago was intended to teach that official corruption and the misuse of public funds would not be tolerated. The student of history will find in the recent records of the Central and South American Republics remarkable progress, and the education of the people, and the introduction of modern modes of communication, will result in the gradual abandonment of force as a factor in civilization and government.

There is no country in which labor is so well rewarded as in this ; nor where the working man lives in a better home, wears better clothing, has a wider intelligence, a greater refinement, a more cultivated taste, or enjoys greater luxury.

It is due to these conditions that the ruins of the ancient world vibrate with the shrieks of a Philadelphia locomotive ; that the Holy Kremlin at Moscow, and the Vatican at Rome, are strung with wires that were spun in Pittsburg, and are lighted with lamps that were made at Lynn ; that the murmur of an American sewing-machine is heard in every palace of Europe and Asia ; that the king of Siam communicates with his Minister through an American telephone ; and that the basement of the Parliament House in London is filled with machinery made at Providence, Rhode Island.

It is due to these conditions that the ingenuity and intelligence of the American working man, with the machinery that he has himself invented, can produce more, of a better quality, in less time, and with less labor, than any other mechanic that handles a tool.

To extend these conditions into the neighbouring nations ; to awaken in them the enterprise and industry that has made ours great ; to aid in the development of resources with which nature has so bountifully blessed them ; to secure a closer fellowship in society and in commerce ; to

obtain a better acquaintance among people who have similar aspirations and the same interests, what is termed the South American policy of the present administration is intended. The survey of an intercontinental railway to connect the American Republics; the construction of an interoceanic canal, the encouragement of new and frequent lines of communication, the negotiation of commercial treaties, the establishment of a Bureau of Information, and the efforts to induce our neighbors to participate with us at Chicago in 1893 in the commemoration of an event that is a part of their history, are forces in the great problem that under Divine direction is being slowly but surely solved.

W. E. C.

THE POSTAL SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES.

During the administration of President Harrison, the civil service, the industries, and all the great interests of the United States have advanced at a rate of progress never surpassed, if equaled, in the history of this nation. In every department of life, great strides forward are being made : railroads are removing their curves, straightening their lines, and uniting their strength ; larger and faster ships are being launched for ocean traffic ; vast businesses are perfecting their methods ; educational institutions are enlarging and organizing on broader lines ; and the great business arm of the Government in which all are interested—the Postal Service—with its 65,240 business centres, expending seventy-five million dollars annually, is keeping step with other institutions, and will be made, if possible, to lead them, in the excellence of its business methods.

As a matter of fact, it may safely be stated that the past three years of the Postal Service cannot be matched, in good results to the country, by any similar period in the one hundred and two years of its history. From March 4,

1889, to March 5, 1892, there have been established 10,549 new post-offices, more than one-sixth of the whole number in existence. To the 2,654 presidential offices of 1889, have been added in three years 467—about 18 per cent. of the entire number of such offices, which is now 3,121. In the matter of the revenue, the three years prior to the present administration increased the postal receipts twenty-four million dollars, or from 130 to 154 million, being more than 18 per cent. The three years of this administration carried the revenue from 154 to over 195 million dollars, an increase of more than 26 per cent.; in other words, we maintained the twenty-four millions gained by the last administration, and added over forty and a half millions to it.

There is equal food for encouragement in the statements of monthly increase of revenue, as indicated in the following rate of advance for the month of February, 1892, as compared with February, 1891, for thirty of the largest post-offices in the country. These offices collect fully 40 per cent. of the entire postal revenue, and the returns for the month named show an increase of 13.2 per cent. over those for the same month in the preceding year, a rate of growth that is almost unexampled in the history of the service. New York shows a gain of 11.5 per cent.; Chicago, of 11.6 per cent.; Philadelphia, of 12.3 per cent.; Boston, of 21 per cent.; St. Louis, of 16 per

cent. ; Brooklyn, of 23 per cent. ; San Francisco, of 15 per cent. ; Pittsburg, of 15 per cent. ; Detroit, of 23 per cent. ; Milwaukee, of 17 per cent. ; St. Paul, of 26 per cent. ; Providence, of 20 per cent. ; Indianapolis, of 17 per cent. ; Hartford, of 27 per cent. ; and Toledo, of 39 per cent.

The registration fees during the past three years have increased fully a half million dollars.

The increased efficiency of the registry service is shown by the fact that for the three years prior to 1889 the losses of registered matter represented one piece to every 14,500 pieces mailed ; while for the past three years, the proportion was only one piece out of every 16,500 pieces mailed.

There is added, in the past three years, to the miles traveled with mails exactly 54,816,192 miles, by railroad, steamboat, and star service. The rate of pay in star and steamboat service has been decreased. There have been 2,129 new routes opened, 255 new railway post-offices and compartment cars put on, and 1,016 additional clerks employed in the railway mails, mainly on account of new service.

The increase in the annual number of miles of service by railway postal clerks, for the past three years, was about 70,000,000, or a little more than 21 per cent. In the number of pieces of mail matter distributed by railway postal clerks for the same time, there was an increase of 5,730,000,000, or nearly 33 per cent. In the number of letters

separated by railway postal clerks for city delivery, there was an increase of nearly 227,000,000, or about 54 per cent. Test examinations, to ascertain the efficiency of the permanent force of postal clerks, were made in nearly 25,000 cases, involving a handling of nearly 30,000,000 pieces, the result showing an average of correctness of more than 93 per cent. During the same time, there were 17,486 examinations of probationary clerks, involving the handling of nearly 15,000,000 pieces, the result averaging nearly 85 per cent. in the correctness of their work.

The increase in money-order offices during the three years of the last administration was 1,185, or 16 per cent.; the increase in the three years of this administration has been 1,829, or 22 per cent., and the present year will probably double the total of the money-order offices.

Free delivery has been established in the past three years at 150 offices, and the entire service has been strengthened and extended by the addition of 2,409 carriers. The last report of the last administration showed a total of 358 letter-carrier offices; up to date, there are 551.

An unerring indication of the increased efficiency of the service is to be found in the records of the Dead Letter Office. The total number of pieces of dead mail matter received at that office in 1886, was about 4,800,000. Three years later it was about 6,200,000; and for the present year

it will be about 6,800,000. In other words, for the three years prior to 1889, there was an increase of 1,400,000 pieces, or 29.2 per cent.; while for the last three years, the increase has been only 600,000, or 9.6 per cent. That is to say, while there was an increase during the three years of fully 35 per cent. in the number of pieces of mail matter handled, the increase in the number of pieces sent to the Dead Letter Office was less than 10 per cent., a difference of 25 per cent. in favor of increased efficiency of service.

These are the bare, unvarnished facts. If the whole story of the three years were to be told, there should be added the sub-stations and stamp-stations established; the improved railroad connections and fast trains put on; the sea post-offices begun; the lottery expulsion from the mails; experimental free delivery at small places; the system of promotions based on merit, ascertained from actual records, a system formulated and introduced by the Post-Office Department; new postal cards introduced; the substitution of a new series of postage stamps of better size and more artistic designs than those previously in use; and a score of minor improvements in methods, to say nothing of the reduction in the ratio of increase of expenses. For example, great reductions have been made in the cost of procuring the supplies of the Department. In

the matter of adhesive postage stamps, stamped envelopes, postal cards and official envelopes, it was shown in the annual report of the last year that there had been an annual reduction of about 12 per cent. in the cost of procuring these articles under contracts made during the past three years; and we have the authority of the Third Assistant Postmaster-General for saying that one dollar, under the present contracts, will purchase as great a quantity of the supplies mentioned as two dollars and four cents would do under the contracts in force only fifteen years ago.

In addition to the accomplished results of the Postal Service, there are several improvements projected which cannot fail to be of the greatest advantage to the people of the United States, their results in convenience and comfort enormously outweighing the small additional expense to the Government they may involve, if such an expense should prove necessary. The first of these has been successfully introduced in various European countries, and has long been demanded in this—the postal telegraph. In the project of introducing this invaluable addition to our postal department, it is not proposed that the Government shall purchase or lease existing lines, or build any new ones. It will answer all present, and perhaps all future requirements, to contract with existing or future companies for the transmission of messages

at reduced rates, in consideration of the collection and delivery of these messages by the letter-carriers of the Post-Office Department. That is all there is of it. But think how much there is of it! Every one of the five hundred and fifty cities in this country which have the free-delivery service, would be in direct electrical communication with every one of the five hundred, and that, too, at rates so low that the plain people, who do the bulk of the corresponding in this country, and not merely the wealthy business people, could use the quickest means of intercommunication. The telegraph companies could afford to do this work thus cheaply for three reasons: One is the additional patronage that the reduced rates and the regularity of collection and delivery would bring; another is that their items of expense for collection and delivery would be removed; the third is the use of offices, clerks, stamps, etc. In other words, the two great machines of the telegraph plants and the free-delivery plant of the Post-Office Department would fit into each other, helping each other out and doing work at far less expense than would be required for either to do the work independently. A person dropping a letter designated "postal telegraph" in a box in Chicago would have it taken up in the next collection, telegraphed to its destination, say New York, and there taken out and delivered in the

first delivery. The answer would be sent off in the same way exactly. The Department would contract with bidding telegraph companies to transmit messages by telegraph, just as it now contracts with railroad companies, steamboats, stage-drivers, etc., to carry messages in sacks. The railroads and steamboats enjoy bidding. They find the transportation of mails for the Government profitable. The telegraph companies would bid, and they would find their work profitable.

With this limited contract postal telegraph, the Department doing its share and the telegraph companies doing their share of the great work of delivering electrical letters, millions of people living in the free delivery of cities would find a new means of communication among themselves brought within their reach—a means worthy of these days of American enterprise and invention, not the retention of one that has been obsolete for twenty years.

The second great step which it is hoped to make in the ideal development of the postal service—that stupendous, marvelous machine for the transmission of intelligence among the people—is to employ the telephone as an aid to convey messages to points not easily reached by telegraph. There are telephones within cities and outside of them, ramifying everywhere in suburban neighborhoods, going to almost every

popular headquarters in town and county. That great means of communication may be brought within the reach of all the suburban population. May we not dream of two-cent telegrams, and five-cent, if not three-cent telephone messages, as part of the magic which the near future holds in store for us? Not even the special knowledge of the telegraph operator would be needed, for everybody can use the telephone, and thousands of little popular centres, within easy reach of the big cities, would be brought into direct electrical communication with the other little popular centres, no matter where, in the whole country.

These are not the only useful innovations proposed in the postal service. A third is that of rural free delivery—that is to say, free delivery by carrier, not only in cities, but in towns, in villages, and even in farming communities. The system has been tried. In forty-eight communities, varying in population from three hundred to three thousand, the incoming and outgoing mails have been collected from and delivered to every house, and with the encouraging result that the additional facilities thus provided have brought to these offices a total income exceeding by \$4,000 the \$10,000 appropriated for the experiment. It is evident, then, that the money spent for free delivery in these small communities will come back, and more with it; and it is equally evident that

free delivery can be tried under less favorable circumstances and still be found to pay its way. It is not claimed that free delivery could be made universal in this country for many years to come. That is because of our immense sparsely settled areas, for it now costs us fifty cents to carry many a letter to some remote quarter of the country ; but we can extend free delivery, and that, too, pretty fast, into the country more and more, and thus bring hundreds of thousands of homes into electrical and postal communication with an indefinite number of others ; for the carrier in the village, as well as in the city, will go wherever there is mail to deliver or collect.

The fourth great improvement in the postal service which it is proposed to introduce, if found available and sufficiently advantageous to the community at large, is the application of letter-boxes for the collection, as well as the delivery, of mail from and to everybody's door in every city, town and village, or even farming community, if desired.

A commission has been at work for some two years examining models of letter-boxes for this purpose, more than 1500 such models having been received. Of these, six boxes were picked out as being the best, and the inventors were invited to make actual tests of their boxes on separate carrier routes, so that it could be determined if the innovation would be popular, and if the

present carrier force could collect mail from every house, as well as deliver it, without an extra expenditure of time, and hence of money.

The best tests have thus far been made at St. Louis, and the Postmaster there, Major Harlow, informs me that one of his carrier routes has been entirely supplied with boxes, that the people there and elsewhere in his city are eager for the house-to-house delivery and collection, and, what is more significant than all this, he thinks that the collection, as well as the delivery phase of the departure, has come to stay. Similar tests have more recently been made in Washington, and with equally gratifying results.

That is nothing less than wonderful if it should turn out, after repeated satisfactory tests, to be true ; for it means that the carrier force of the Post-Office Department at present employed in some 550 cities could collect letters from everybody's door where they happen to be for collection—as indicated by disks which would appear where mail is to be collected—incidentally with the delivery of mail to every door where it is to be delivered ; and all this within the same time and without any extra expense, or, in other words, the millions of people in these cities have by this discovery, two great conveniences which they did not have before, namely, all of their letters deposited in a safe place at their doors without delay, and, what is more, all of their

letters collected from a safe place at their doors. And as the free delivery service is extended into smaller and smaller cities, into the towns, into the villages, even into the farming districts, these privileges may be correspondingly extended, until every family in this great community of the United States shall have the post-office brought to his very door.

Another improvement in the postal service which is likely to be introduced in the near future, is the consolidation of third and fourth-class mail matter, so that all articles now classed as "merchandise" shall be transmitted through the mails as third-class matter, at the rate of one cent per two ounces, or at a reduction to one-half the present rate. This will have the double effect of simplifying the work of post-office officials, and of benefiting the people by providing for a very cheap transmission of small packages all over the United States. The loss in revenue from this change in method is likely to be more than counterbalanced by the increased business done; so that the valuable service given to the people will prove a gain instead of a loss to the Government.

We have here specified the principal innovations and improvements in the postal service which have been recently introduced or are at present in the experimental stage. All must see that they cannot but be of the greatest advantage to the

people at large in cheapening and rendering more expeditious and convenient the transmission of mail matter throughout all parts of the country, civic and rural alike. There are other innovations in the air, but not likely to be at once realized. Chief among these is the reduction of letter postage to one cent per ounce, a proposition to which much consideration has been given of recent years. At present, with the comparative sparseness of our population, and the various other reforms in the experimental stage, this great change, with its severe reduction in revenue, cannot safely be made, but it will doubtless be one of the accomplished facts of the immediate future, with the vast additions which a few more years will make to our population, and the even greater growth, through the extension of education, of our letter-writing community.

The Treasury Department was conducted during Mr. Harrison's administration with singular ability. Mr. Windom, his first Secretary of the Treasury, had already won an excellent reputation in that office during the brief administration of President Garfield, and he resumed his work with the intelligence and energy that had formerly characterized him. He found an enormous amount of money, amounting to more than \$60,000,000, on deposit in various favored banks. Regarding this policy of deposit as a dangerous and unsound one, he began withdrawing the money as rapidly as possible and restoring it to natural channels. Within three months he thus withdrew from the banks more than \$14,000,000, which was largely applied to the reduction of the public debt and to the increase of the actual volume of circulating medium. The administration of the tariff law was conducted intelligently and vigorously to the great benefit of the Treasury. Important reforms were achieved in the system of receiving immigrants, the wholesale importation of paupers and criminals was stopped, and many other abuses were checked. Another important matter was a joint arrangement with England of a *modus vivendi* to prevent the extermination of the fur seals in Bering Sea. Apart from the legitimate killing of these animals, by a chartered company, many poachers from American and Canadian ports slaughtered still greater numbers.

President Harrison ordered that all vessels so employed should be seized, and this order was executed vigorously. The Canadian poachers were indirectly sustained by Great Britain, but the Department of State maintained its ground, and the British Foreign Office has consented to terms of arbitration.

Of the great work conducted by the Navy Department, it is possible to speak only in the briefest manner. The work of rebuilding the American Navy, which had been begun by Secretary Chandler during the Arthur administration, and continued by Secretary Whitney during the Cleveland administration, was prosecuted most vigorously by Secretary Tracy during the administration of President Harrison. A number of important new vessels were added to the fleet, and the building of others was entered upon. The completed vessels made a cruise about the world, proudly carrying the American flag into many a foreign port over the decks of vessels that had no superiors of their class in any navy in the world. Some of the vessels were sent to Chili, to guard the welfare of American citizens in that country, where a civil war was raging. A Chilian mob made a deadly attack upon some of the American sailors who had gone ashore, and for a time hostilities between the two countries seemed imminent. A firm stand was taken, however, by the government of the United States, and Chili

was soon glad to offer an ample apology for the wrongs she had committed against the United States.

In the War Department, many topics engaged the active attention of the President. Conspicuous among these was the development of a proper system of sea coast and harbor fortifications. Arrangements were also made for the manufacture at American arsenals of the most improved modern artillery. Many reforms were effected in the discipline and management of army affairs, and many improvements were made in the status of the Indians. The pension office was reorganized and arrears of work so brought up as greatly to do away with the annoying delay that had hitherto prevailed in the settlement of claims.

The manifold activities of the great Department of the Interior were conducted with signal ability. Their most important features are set forth in the following pages, contributed by the Hon. John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior:

PROGRESS IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

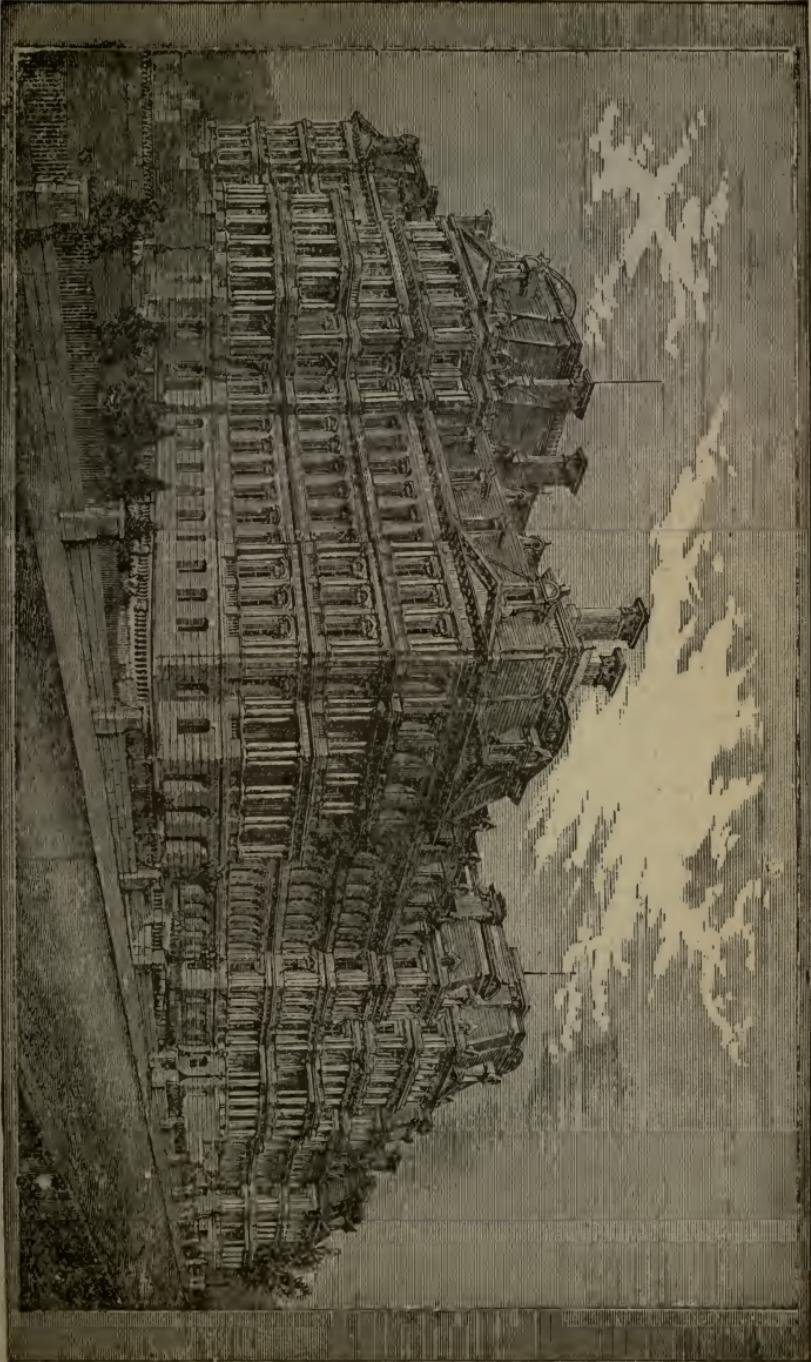
(From Annual Report of 1891.)

By JOHN W. NOBLE,

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

The years of the present administration have been marked to a notable degree by the expansion of the public domain for private settlement. European nations strive with one another to plant colonies beyond their borders, even in Africa and on distant islands; but our country is so fortunately situated that within our own boundaries are vast tracts of fertile land heretofore unused, on which communities can establish themselves in a single day, and be protected by an almost instantaneous but easy and peaceful application of our system of laws and government to their new relations.

A notable example of this occurred on the 22d of April, 1889, on which day the district of Oklahoma, situated in the heart of the Indian Territory, was opened to settlement. At the hour of noon on that day a remarkable scene took place. Thousands of intending settlers had gathered on the borders of the territory, those to the north having been permitted to cross the strip of land known



STATE, WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

as the Cherokee Outlet. When the hour fixed by the proclamation arrived, these great multitudes rapidly advanced; some by railroads, some by private conveyances, some on horseback, and many on foot, and seized and occupied their homes-teds literally upon the run. Although, of course, the rush was very great and the desire of each person was to secure the best claim possible, it is a most honorable and memorable fact that the opening of so large an amount of land was attended with the loss of but very few lives, and these two or three occurred from personal combats. It may be said without the least exaggeration that between the hour of noon and the setting of the sun there were established in this domain, towns and cities, each of several thousand inhabitants, and that a great part of the whole territory was claimed and settled upon. The seed of these hours of planting has already developed there into wonderful results of Christian American civilization.

Since the date named, remarkable results have appeared in this rapidly settled district, which, in 1890, was made a Territory of the United States. Its population is estimated by the governor to have increased to 80,000, it contains several prosperous cities and towns, agriculture is being rapidly developed, corn, cotton, and other crops have yielded bountifully, and much attention is being given to the cultivation of fruits and berries, for which the

soil is admirably fitted. The Cherokee Outlet, adjoining Oklahoma on the north, will probably be opened in the near future, and become a portion of the new Territory.

Since the opening of Oklahoma, the movement towards reducing the inordinate size of many Indian reservations, and of inducing Indians to accept lands in severalty, has made very satisfactory progress, and important cessions of land to the Government have been made by purchase from various tribes. The lands thus opened to settlement include, within the borders of Oklahoma, nearly 900,000 acres obtained from the Sacs and Foxes and some other tribes, which were opened to settlement at noon of September 22, 1890. 20,000 persons, as estimated, gathered on the borders in anticipation of the "opening"; some intent upon securing homesteads, and others seeking town lots at the county-seats. The scenes and events were similar to those that occurred at the first opening of "Oklahoma." A military force was present to guard the lines of the Indian possessions until the day and hour designated, and when the signal that the people might enter was given, there occurred a great rush from every direction. All the quarter-sections available, it is said, were taken for homesteads before sunset. The reservations for county-seats were occupied within the next few days amid similar scenes.

It is gratifying to state that, as before, so at this second contest of thousands of our citizens for personal advantages, under the most exciting and trying circumstances, a sense of justice and regard for law controlled all alike, and to such a degree that there was no occasion for any interference by the military force, and the only injuries received were purely accidental. This promises well for the increasing and already prosperous people of Oklahoma.

A still more important addition to Oklahoma consists of about 3,000,000 acres, obtained from the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in October, 1890, while agreements have been made with other tribes, making the total area opened, and to be opened to settlement, 4,732,989 acres.

In addition to the above may be mentioned the opening on February 10, 1890, of the great trail set off from the Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. This district, embracing 9,000,000 acres, was opened freely to settlement, and was taken with a rush, as in the similar cases above described. In short, during the present administration, a total area of about 23,000,000 acres has been added to the public domain, equivalent to a new State of no small dimensions.

The process of reducing the dimensions of the Indian reservations, above described, has a purpose still more important than that of providing lands for new settlers. Its leading object lies in

a desire to solve that "Indian problem" which has long been one of the most difficult questions with which our Government has had to deal. The total number of Indians in the United States, exclusive of Alaska, according to the recent census, is 249,273. These Indians have heretofore been dealt with as aliens, or wards of the Government,—roused occasionally to hostile acts by unjust treatment of the whites or their own innate savagery, and repressed by the bullet and the sword. The indications are so strong that this would continue to be the case under the system of tribal reservations, that a strenuous effort has been made by the present administration to induce them to accept lands in severalty, either into individual labor for their own sustenance, become American citizens, and cease their state of tribal pauperism and idleness. This useful effort has been attended with highly encouraging success, being aided by the increasing education of Indian children, and of the adults in the practice of farming, and promises in the near future to settle the long existing difficulty, and make self-supporting American citizens of our Indian population.

The only recent approach to an Indian outbreak sprang from the "Ghost Dance" excitement of 1890. The Sioux disturbance arising from this was quieted in a manner which indicates that the era of Indian wars is at an end. Some bloodshed occurred, through a savage assault of

the Indians on our troops while being disarmed, but the result was one that gives us reason to believe that the "war path" is about to be succeeded by the corn path of the plough.

PUBLIC LANDS.

During the present administration, there have been instituted new methods of dealing with the public lands, which have been attended with gratifying success. Under the preceding administration, obstacles were thrown in the way of settlers, land patents reluctantly issued, contests invited, heavy expenses laid in homesteaders, and the pioneer was largely deprived of the benefit of good government. We have improved all this with most encouraging results. In the fiscal years of 1886 and 1887, the total number of land patents issued was 44,443; in 1890 and 1891, the total was 231,607. On June 30, 1888 (the close of the last fiscal year of the Cleveland administration) there were pending, undisposed of, 350,953 agricultural entries, of which 217,640 were for homesteads. Secretary Vilas as to this said, in his report for that year (p. vii.) :

"It is obvious, however, that it is of great importance to all honest and rightful claimants that the evidence to their title should be speedily issued. *Yet how dreary is the prospect opened to the settler by the figures now exhibited by the arrears of business!*"

Instead of the lamentation so justly indulged in by the Secretary under the preceding administration, the present Commissioner of the General Land Office predicted "that, with the present office force, the business of the Bureau will practically be brought up abreast with current work by the end of the next fiscal year," and gave in his report the facts and figures, setting forth the excellent work done the past years, on which his judgment is based. The number of agricultural patents, which includes those for homesteads, issued for 1889, was 70,141; for 1890, 117,247, and for 1891, 114,360; and there were left of final entries for such lands at the end of the last fiscal year, June 30, 1891, only 84,172. These results reach beneficially our fellow-citizens in their homes far away from the capital, and by placing in the hands of the pioneer the title paper to his homestead prove that his government is mindful of its promises and capable of living up to its professions. To-day (June, 1892,) this immense mass of delinquency has been disposed of, and the land office is up to date and the business is current. This result speaks for itself as regards the encouragement given by the Harrison administration to citizens seeking to develop our unused public estate.

Another topic of great national importance connected with the settlement of the public domain, is that of irrigation.

It appears by a table published in the Secretary's report for 1890 that, not including Alaska or the Cherokee Outlet or other Indian lands, and certain other small exceptions, the vacant lands of the United States amounted to 586,216,816 acres. The amount remaining on June 30, 1891, with same exceptions, was 579,664,683 acres, of which 294,027,773 are yet-unsurveyed.

It is estimated that at least 300,000,000 acres of these vacant lands are useless for agriculture, but that 120,000,000 that are now desert may be redeemed by irrigation, so as to produce the cereals, fruits and garden products possible in the climate where the lands are located. Congress, so far, has acted in a manner to give private corporations and associations the control of the water supply of the vast reclaimable domain. It is a serious question whether this is the wisest course of procedure. The States and Territories are improved, under the statutes, to exercise some control over those companies, but the United States Government, from whom these vastly important and far-reaching privileges emanate, should not release altogether its hold upon the water supply and its ultimate distribution. No one can now compute the money value that will concentrate in these reservoirs and canals and ditches, conveying the water to the fields of the husbandmen, and upon which the people must depend for their prosperity. The efficiency of local legislation may be impaired

by private interests, and a few may be enriched at the expense of the many. And it is also to be remembered that the rivers and streams running through these desert lands, pass from States to States or Territories, and that there is no provision made for any regulation of the use by one State or Territory in proportion to what may be reasonably demanded by another. It has been said by an eminent writer on the future of our country that the child is already born who will see 400,000,000 of inhabitants in the United States. Long before this stage of our development is reached, the question of the water supply and its distribution will be one of vital interest, and its proper solution should be given now.

NEW STATES.

Among the most striking results of the policy of the present administration is its phenomenal admission of new States. No State has been admitted to the Union for thirteen years previous to the election of President Harrison, but in the four years succeeding, no less than six States have been admitted—six new States added to our flag. This is an event without precedent in the history of our country since the union of the thirteen original States, and is a worthy subject for congratulation, in the evidence which it yields of the rapid settlement of our Western domain. These States include North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington

and Montana, admitted to Statehood in 1889, and Idaho and Wyoming in 1890. They had, at the date of admission, a population, in all, of over 1,100,000, which is now steadily and rapidly increasing. Should the two Territories now applying for admission—New Mexico and Arizona—be received, it will add to the distinction already achieved by the Harrison administration in the expansion of our galaxy of States.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The highly important Geological Survey, which for years past has been so actively employed in developing the mineral resources of our country, has continued its good work with more efficiency than ever during the present administration. During the twelve years since its institution, the mineral products of the country have nearly doubled in value and more than doubled in quantity. It has greatly reduced the cost of mining operations, by clearly indicating where minerals are likely to be found, and where search is likely to be fruitless. In this way the cost of production has been diminished and prices have been proportionately reduced. The mean price of the mineral products of the United States has been reduced more than one-third during the past twelve years. During the past year alone, this reduction in price has resulted in a saving to the consumers of mineral products in the country a sum amounting to fully \$200,000,000.

In addition to the direct work upon mineral resources, the Bureau has extended topographic surveys over and constructed maps of an area of 493,790 square miles in thirty-nine States and Territories, thus covering nearly one-sixth of the area of the United States. The issue of accurate maps representing the precise configuration of the land surface has greatly reduced the cost of construction of public and private works (city waterworks, works for the development of water-power, railways, wagon roads, etc.,) and thereby added greatly to the material prosperity of the country. Moreover, the soils of considerable areas have been examined and classified, forests have been studied, quarry rocks, brick clays, and other building materials have been investigated, and the results of the work have been made public. By these means the Bureau has aided in developing and at the same time economizing the resources of the country, thereby increasing our wealth and power to an extent which, while it cannot be measured, is unquestionably important.

The Geological Survey has also been engaged, under direction from Congress, in investigating the extent to which the desert regions of the United States can be redeemed by irrigation, and where and how reservoirs and other hydraulic works for this purpose should be constructed, with the benefit likely to arise therefrom. This action has reference to the possible building of

such reservoirs by the National Government, to be followed by a public control of the water supply which now threatens to fall into the hands of covetous individuals, with possible injury to and oppression of the farming population of the regions involved.

Active steps have also been taken to preserve the forests of the country, which have been, within recent years, so rapidly depleted, in part by indiscriminate cutting and much more greatly by fires that might have been avoided. These forests are important not alone for their immense money value, but for their invaluable regulating influence upon the water flow of the country. Though the injury that was being done was clearly perceived, it has not been until recently that any steps were taken to prevent it. The Department of the Interior has worked earnestly in this direction during the present administration, but against enormous difficulties which can be only step by step eliminated, and our extensive woodlands properly cared for.

THE NATIONAL PARKS.

An action of signal utility and interest, during the present administration, has been the setting aside of several tracts which embrace great natural phenomena, as public pleasure grounds, and thus preserving them from fatal activity of speculation. The first of these—set aside by act of Congress of September 25, 1890—is the

"Sequoia National Park," a tract including the most important group of the "Big Trees" of California, those vegetable giants which rank among the acknowledged "wonders of the world." This action was taken none too soon. Many of these trees have already been felled, to serve private greed, and they were all in serious danger. Their destruction has been useless, wasteful and lamentable. At the mills, millions and millions of feet of lumber are decaying upon the ground. Trees 30 and 40 feet in diameter have been cut for curiosity's sake alone. Had they been left much longer unguarded, America might have lost one of its greatest natural attractions.

In addition to the park named, another group of these trees was set aside on October 1, 1890, as a park, to which has been given the appropriate title of the "General Grant National Park." This name was adopted because the largest tree there, and perhaps the largest of all the "Big Trees," had been given the name of our great general.

On the same date, another national park was formed, containing that remarkable locality of grand and striking scenery, the Yosemite Valley. This, which has been named the "Yosemite National Park," embraces a tract of over a million acres, including the valley and its immediate surroundings.

The trees, waterfalls, and other natural beauties of these remarkable tracts of land, will hereafter

be guarded with the most sedulous care, trespassers expelled, and all who seek to injure them punished, in order that in the case of these, as in that of the remarkable Yellowstone Valley, these marvels of nature may be preserved intact for the enjoyment of the people of the United States and of the world through all future time, as "A thing of beauty and a joy forever."

As regards the Yellowstone National Park, it promises to become of great value and interest as a preserve for the wild animals of the western country, several species of which have been threatened with extinction. The preservation of the animals within the Park boundaries—a work of the present administration—has already proved highly useful, and promises excellent results for the future. The buffalo, which had so nearly vanished, have found here a realm of safety, and are steadily increasing. The Park contains now not less than 200, and probably as many as 400 of these useful animals. The elk have increased enormously, and now number over, perhaps considerably over, 25,000. Mountain sheep, deer and antelope are tame, numerous, and on the increase, and bears have increased so that they may need to be taken in hand. They have not proved dangerous, but it is impossible to keep provisions anywhere within their reach. On the whole, the Yellowstone Park promises to become eventually a grand national zoological garden of the indigenous animals of our great public domain.

In the Department of Agriculture, much was accomplished for the welfare of the American farmer. This department was a new one, having existed for only a short time in the preceding administration. Realizing that his nominee would be practically the first American Secretary of Agriculture, that upon him would fall the responsibility of vindicating the wisdom of creating such a department, and that, indeed, the acceptability of the whole administration to the farmers of the country would depend upon this department, President Harrison selected for the office a man of affairs endowed with exceptional good sense, with energy and perseverance, thoroughly familiar with agriculture in a practical way, and enjoying the full sympathy and confidence of the farmers. When the administration came into power, the live stock interests of the country were at a low ebb. Vexatious laws greatly hampered the export of live stock, while dressed meats were almost entirely shut out of the foreign market. An adequate system of inspection was established and, by the co-operation of the State Department, a repeal of the obnoxious regulations of foreign countries was secured. The prohibitory laws against American pork were repealed by France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Italy and Spain, and those markets were thus reopened to American trade. The foreign market for American grain and other

agricultural products was also largely extended. Efforts to establish a domestic sugar industry were effectively renewed. The Weather Bureau was transferred to the Agricultural Department and its value to the country greatly enhanced. Effective steps were taken for the stamping out of contagious diseases among cattle, and much also was done to free various agricultural crops from the ravages of insect pests.

In the Department of Justice, the administration maintained its reputation for learning and energy. Efforts to uphold the inviolability of the election laws were persistent and urgent, and in the operations of the Federal Courts many important reforms were wrought.

On the silver question, President Harrison took a wise and statesmanlike stand. His administration has stood pledged to the full use of silver as money, and to every effort which promises success for the restoration of bi-metallism. At the same time, it has firmly resisted every step that could possibly weaken the fiscal system or debase the currency, the President's determination being "to have every dollar worth as much as any other dollar, whether of gold, silver or paper." With a view to promoting these ends and restoring silver to its proper place as a money metal, an international silver conference has been called, which will presently begin what promise to be fruitful deliberations.

The admission of six new States to the Union was a brilliant episode of the Harrison administration. Washington, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota are all prosperous commonwealths, well worthy of their place in the sisterhood of States.

The most notable feature of the Legislation of the Fifty-first Congress, was the adoption by Congress, with the President's cordial approval, of the McKinley tariff, and we give an account of it, in the words of its author. Speaking at Niles, Ohio, on August 22, 1891, Mr. McKinley said:

"The new tariff law went into effect October 6, 1890. It had been in operation, therefore, a few days short of nine months on the 30th of June last. The last official report we have of the statement of foreign commerce, issued by the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department, shows the total value of imports of merchandise during those nine months was \$630,206,000. During the corresponding period of 1890, the total value of imports of merchandise was \$598,-769,305. There were, therefore, imported during the nine months of 1891, under the new tariff law, \$31,436,100 more than in the corresponding period of 1890, under the operation of the old law. As showing the effect of the operation of the new law, it is important to know what proportion of these imports were free, and what proportion were dutiable, both under the old and new laws. During

the nine months ending June 30, 1891, the foreign goods admitted free of duty, were valued at \$295,993,665. During the nine months ending June 30, 1890, the value of free imports was \$208,983,873—an increase of free importations in favor of the new law, of \$86,979,792.

"The foreign goods which were dutiable under the new law in that period were \$334,242,340 in value, and for the nine months, under the old law, ending June 30, 1890, the foreign goods dutiable were \$389,786,032, being a decrease in the value of merchandise paying duty under the new law in the sum of \$55,543,692. Forty-six and nine-tenths per cent. under the new law of all of our imports in value were admitted free of duty, and for the same period under the old law thirty-four and nine-tenths per cent. were admitted free of duty. That is to say, that under the new law, which our opponents assert is prohibitory, and a great increase of duties over the old law, forty-six and nine-tenths per cent. in value of all our imports were free, and fifty-three and one-tenth per cent. paid a duty, while under the old law, for that same period, thirty-four and nine-tenths per cent. of our imports were free, and sixty-five and one-tenth per cent. paid a duty.

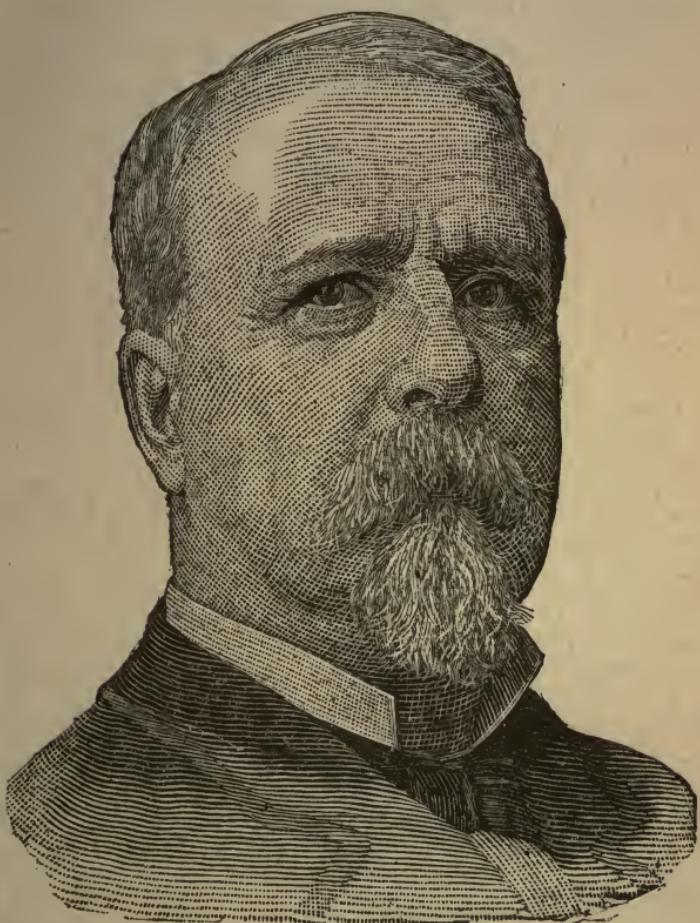
"Such a showing of free imports cannot be found in any tariff law since the beginning of the government.

"Our foreign commerce for the year ending

June 30, 1891, was greater than it has ever been before. The total value of the products we bought abroad and sold abroad, from June 30, 1890, to June 30, 1891, was \$1,729,330,896, an increase over those of 1890, of \$82,191,803, and an excess over that of 1889, of \$241,797,867. The value of our imports for the fiscal year, 1891, was the greatest of our history, and exceeded those of 1890 in the sum of \$55,595,082. This increase is made up largely of the following articles: coffee, tea, tin plates, hides and skins, chemicals, drugs, dyes and medicines, fruits, raw wool, India rubber, gutta percha, sugar and molasses, vegetables, which for the most part we do not produce in the United States.

"And yet, with this unprecedented importation, our exports exceeded our imports in the sum of \$39,579,314. So that a law which our opponents declare is in restraint of trade, is in fact an encouragement of trade, with the balance fortunately in our favor, as it should always be.

"The predictions made by the enemies of the new law, nine months ago, have not been verified, but on the contrary, have been shown to be mere assumptions, utterly without foundation. They served a political purpose, and worked a positive injury to the merchant and the manufacturer and the consumer. There are few merchants in the State of Ohio who have not suffered from the exaggeration of the importer and the false prophet,



HON. MURAT HALSTEAD.

whose dire prophecies of the effects of the new law caused them to increase their purchases and prices, which prices have since fallen ; and in some instances the goods which the merchant has on hand can be replaced at from ten to twenty per cent. less than he paid for them. Prices to-day in staple goods are less than they were during the months of October, November and December of last year, and there is scarcely a manufactured article which goes into the family, and which is classed as a necessity, that has not fallen in price and is less than it has been for many years.

"It is always better to be frank, and candid, and honest with the people. One thing is certain, that the prices of manufactured articles have not advanced, but as a rule have diminished in price. Another thing is equally certain, that existing industries have been stimulated to greater activity, and there is a wider demand for labor than there has been for many years, while new enterprises are springing up all over the land ; and this, too, in spite of the conspiracy of the Democratic leaders to destroy confidence and discourage investments.

"There are eight hundred and forty-two articles in the new tariff law. Of these the duties on one hundred and ninety were reduced. Eighty of these articles the duties were changed from *ad valorem* to specific, because experience has shown

that *ad valorem* duties invite fraud upon the revenue and operate unfairly to the honest merchant and importer.

"There are two hundred and forty-nine articles in the new law on which duties are identical with those under the previous law.

"Upon what articles were the duties increased? Forty-eight were upon agricultural products, forty-three upon wool and its products, twenty-four upon flax and its products. Forty per cent. of the increases were for the better protection of farm products. Twenty-eight of the increases were upon champagne, wine and spirits, five on tobacco, one on opium, three on silk.

"Duties were increased upon liquors, champagne, tobacco, silk, embroideries, laces, fine hosiery, broadcloth, fine linens, opium for smoking, fine cut glass, French and German china, firearms, playing cards, pearl buttons, jewelry, pianos, seal fur and tin plate. One hundred and eighty-five duties under the new law are the same as under the Mills bill.

"The reductions were on sugar, molasses, leather, boots and shoes, lumber, rice, starch, trace chains, hammers, spikes, tacks and nails, wire, screws, nuts and washers, files, rasps, ropes, binder's twine, log chains, iron piping, stove plates, horseshoes, sewing needles, copper and products of, lead and products of, nickel and products of, structural iron, bar iron, hoop iron, sheet iron,

steel rails, wire rope and wire netting, books for the blind, varnishes, turpentine, camphor, chloroform, glycerine, medicinal preparations.

"This plain statement of facts, taken from the new law, should be and is a conclusive refutation of the statements of free traders, and ought to set right those who have blindly accepted the misrepresentation of our adversaries. There are no prohibitive duties in the law. Yes, there are. We prohibit the importation of obscene literature.

"We prohibit the importation of foreign goods bearing an American name or trade-mark, and insist that the foreign goods shall be marketed upon their own merits under their own trade-mark. We prohibit the United States from importing anything which is dutiable, except upon payment of duties. Heretofore the United States could buy its supplies abroad free of duty, and did it altogether too frequently. They must hereafter obey the law which they require their citizens to observe. We prohibit the importation of goods, or products produced by the convict labor of other lands. We protect our free labor at home against the convict labor at home. But never before against the convict labor abroad. This new law stops the products of European convicts from competition with our free American labor and will not admit such products to land on our shores.

"It is over and over again asserted that the farmers cannot possibly be benefited by a tariff on farm products. That he has a surplus, and therefore he must seek a foreign market to dispose of it. There seems to be a general impression that no products come into the United States in competition with American farm products. An examination of the imports of 1890 most effectually disposes of this assumption."

Imported in 1890.

"Cattle, horses and sheep	\$ 3,270,277
Breadstuff	6,034,272
Fruits	13,871,801
Hay	1,143,445
Hops	1,053,616
Flax	2,188,021
Hemp	7,341,956
Meat and dairy products	2,011,314
Rice	2,042,120
Linseed, flaxseed and other seeds	3,530,631
Leaf tobacco	17,605,192
Vegetables	4,455,374
Wool	15,264,083
Total	\$79,812,102
15,062,076 dozen eggs imported in 1890.	

"It will be seen that in 1890 we imported \$79,812,102 worth of farm products, much of which is believed will be produced here under the protection given by the new tariff law.

"Much as the Republican party has done, it has great things yet to do. It will be a mighty

force in the future as it has been a mighty force in the past. Its glories will continue to blaze on the heights, a light to the world, pointing to higher destiny for mankind, and the upholding and uplifting of a nation approved of God. It will not pause in its march and achievements until the flag, the flag of the stars, shall be the unquestioned symbol of sovereignty at home, and of American rights abroad; until American labor shall be securely shielded from the degrading competition of the old world, and our entire citizenship from the vicious and criminal classes who are crowding our shores; never while the advocates of a debased dollar threaten the country with its financial heresies, and never until the free right to vote in every corner of the country shall be protected under the law and by the law and for the law; and the American ballot-box be held as sacred as the American home."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CITIZEN.

Throughout his administration of the Presidential office, Mr. Harrison has remained essentially an American citizen; simple, unaffected and approachable. On numerous occasions he has travelled about the country, mingling freely with the people, and making here and there the felicitous addresses for which he is famed. One extended tour was made in the spring of 1891, through the South and West, for more than ten thousand miles. He left Washington on April 14th, and travelled through Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. He was received everywhere with great enthusiasm, and made, during the month consumed by his tour, one hundred and forty-three speeches.

Here are some of the things he said, in the South and elsewhere, concerning the war, the restoration of the Union, and the sisterhood of the States and the integrity of the Nation:

I know of no higher honor in this world than to be called "comrade" by the survivors of those who saved the Union.—(Canon City, Col., May 11, 1891.)

I am glad that the Confederate soldier, confessing that defeat which has brought him blessings that would have been impossible otherwise, has been taken again into full participation in the administration of the government; that no penalties, limitations or other inflictions rest upon him. I have taken and can always take the hand of a brave Confederate soldier with confidence and respect. I would put him under one yoke only, and that is the yoke that the victors in that struggle bore when they went home and laid off their uniforms—the yoke of the law and the obligation always to obey it. Upon that platform, without distinction between the victors and the vanquished, we enter together upon possibilities as a people that we cannot overestimate.—(Memphis, Tenn., April 17, 1891.)

There have been two conquests—one with arms, the other with the gentle influence of peace—and the last is greater than the first. The first is only great as it made way for that which followed; and now, one again in our devotion to the Constitution and the laws; one again in the determination that the question of the severance of the Federal relations of these States shall never again be raised, we have started together upon a career of

prosperity and development that has as yet given only the signs of what is to come.—(Chattanooga, Tenn., April 15, 1891.)

I have a supreme regard for the honor of the Nation, a profound respect for the Constitution, and a most sincere desire to meet the just expectations of my fellow-citizens. I am not one of those who believe that the good of any class can be permanently and largely attained except upon lines which promote the good of all our people. We have a common heritage. The Confederate soldier has a full, honorable and ungrudged participation in all the benefits of a great and just government. I do not doubt to-day that these would be among the readiest of our population to follow the old flag if it should be assailed from any quarter.—(Johnson City, Tenn., April 14, 1891.)

I am glad that by the common consent of all our people, without any regard to past differences, we have once and forever struck hands upon the proposition that from the Lakes to the Gulf, from the St. Lawrence to the Bay of California, there shall be one flag and one Constitution.—(Greensboro, Tenn., April 14, 1891.)

We are one people absolutely. We follow not men, but institutions. We are happy in the fact that though men may live or die, come or go, we still have that toward which the American citizen turns with confidence and veneration—this great

union of the States devised so happily by our fathers.—(Bakersfield, Cal., April 25, 1891.)

We cannot be too careful that all our influence is on the side of good government and of American interests. We do not wish ill to any other nation or people in the world, but they must excuse us if we regard our own fellow-citizens as having the highest claim on our regard.—(Modesto, Cal., April 25, 1891.)

Our legislation should be as broad as our territory, should not be for classes, but should be always in the interest of all our people.—(Pendleton, Oregon, May 7, 1891.)

I have but one message for the North and for the South, for the East and for the West, as I journey through this land. It is to hold up the law, and to say everywhere that every man owes allegiance to it, and that all law-breakers must be left to the deliberate and safe judgment of an established tribunal.—(Salem, Or., May 5, 1891.)

The purity of the ballot-box, the wise provisions and careful guardianship that shall always make the expression of the will of the people fair, pure and true, is the essential thing in American life. We are a people organized upon principles of liberty, but, my good countrymen, it is not license. It is liberty within and under the law. I have no discord, as a public officer, with men of any creed or politics, if they obey the law. My oath of office, my public duty, requires me to be against

those who violate the law.—(Salt Lake City, Utah, May 9, 1891.)

We live in a government of law. The compact of our organization is that a majority of our people, taking those methods which are prescribed by the Constitution and law, shall determine our public policies and choose our rulers. It is our solemn compact; it cannot safely be broken. We may safely differ about policies; we may safely divide upon the question as to what shall be the law; but when the law is once enacted no community can safely divide on the question of implicit obedience to the law. It is the one rule of conduct for us all. I may not choose, as President, what laws I will enforce, and the citizen may not choose what laws he will obey. Upon this broad principle our institutions rest. If we save it, all the agitations and tumults of our campaigns, exciting though they may be, will be harmless to move our Government from its safe and abiding foundation.—(Knoxville, Tenn., April 14, 1891.)

Our Government was instituted by wise men—men of broad views. It was based upon the idea of the equal rights of men. It absolutely rejects the idea of class distinction, and insists that men should be judged by their behavior. That is a good rule; those who are law-abiding and well-disposed; those who pursue their vocations lawfully and with due respect to the rights of others

are the true American citizens.—(Glenwood Springs, Col., May 10, 1891.)

I desire to promote those measures which shall always be for the interests of all classes, and which shall diffuse the benefits of our institutions equally and fairly among all the States and among all our people.—(Baker City, Oregon, May 7, 1891.)

We have a Government whose principles are very simple and very popular. The whole theory of our institutions is that, pursuing those election methods which we have prescribed under the Constitution, every man shall exercise freely the right that the suffrage law confides to him, and that the majority, if it has expressed its will, shall conclude the issue for us all. There is no other foundation. This was the enduring base upon which the fathers of our country placed our institutions. Let us always keep them there. Let us press the debate in our campaigns as to what the law should be; but let us keep faith and submit with the reverence and respect which are due to the law when once lawfully enacted.—(Tallapoosa, Ga., April 16, 1891.)

On the subject of the currency, he made this wise and patriotic declaration:

This Government of ours cannot do everything for everybody. The theory of our Government is large individual liberty. It is that we shall take out of the way all legislative obstructions to the

free, honest pursuit of all human industries ; that each individual shall, in his own place, have the best chance possible to develop the highest prosperity for himself and his family. Some functions are lodged with our Government. It must provide a currency for the use of our people, for I believe the time has gone by when we will be content to return to the old system of an issue of money by State banks. But I will not discuss such questions. I only desire to say this, which is common ground upon which we can all stand, that whatever money the Government issues, paper or coin, it must be good money. I have an idea that every dollar we issue should be as good as any dollar we issue ; for, my countrymen, paper or coin, the first errand it does is to pay some workingman for his daily toil. None so much as the laboring man and the farmer require a full-value dollar of permanent value the year round.—(Omaha, Neb., May 13, 1891.)

And these words about the American home :

The American home, where the father abides in the respect and the mother in the deep love of the children that sit about the fireside ; where all that makes us good is taught, and the first rudiments of obedience to law, of orderly relations, one to another, are put into the young minds,—out of this comes social order ; on this rests the security of our country.—(Palestine, Tex., April 18, 1891)

No material greatness, no wealth, no accumulation of splendor is to be compared with those humble and homely virtues which have generally characterized our American homes.—(San Antonio, Tex., April 20, 1891.)

The foundation of American life is the American home. That which distinguishes us from other nations whose political experience and history have been full of strife and discord is the American home, where one wife sits in single uncrowned glory.—(Salt Lake City, Utah, May 9, 1891.)

The American home is the one thing we cannot afford to lose out of the American life. As long as we have pure homes, and God-fearing, order-loving fathers and mothers to rear the children that are given to them, and to make these homes the abodes of order, cleanliness, piety and intelligence, the American society and the American union are safe.—(Birmingham, Ala., April 16, 1891.)

All commerce and trade rest upon the foundation of social order. You cannot attract an increased citizenship except as you give to the world a reputation for social order, in which crime is suppressed, in which the rights of the humble are respected, and where the courts stand as the safe bulwark of the personal and public rights of every citizen, however poor.—(El Paso, Tex., April 21, 1891.)

It was the pleasant privilege of President Harrison, on April 27, 1892, to lay the corner-stone of the splendid edifice in Riverside Park, New York, which is to be at once the sepulchre and the monument of Ulysses S. Grant. The day was serene and brilliant, befitting the occasion, and many thousands of citizens thronged about the spot. There was slight military and naval display, the interest of the whole occasion centering in the laying of the corner-stone by the Chief Magistrate, who had been, years before, Grant's comrade in arms.

When all was ready for the ceremony, a brief address was made by General Horace Porter, at the close of which the speaker escorted the President to the spot where the huge corner-stone of granite hung on chains from the derrick. Some workmen distributed the cement, and President Harrison, with a gold trowel, completed this simple duty and the stone was slowly lowered to its permanent resting-place. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. John Hall, and then the President spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—My assignment in connection with these exercises has to do with mechanics, rather than oratory. The pleasant duty of bringing to our memory to-day those brilliant incidents of public service and those personal and manly virtues which have placed the name of Ulysses S. Grant [applause] so high

upon the scroll of fame, and settled the love of the man so deeply in all patriotic hearts, has been devolved upon another, who never fails to meet these high occasions with credit to himself and with pleasure to his favored hearers. [Applause.] No orator, however gifted, can over-praise General Grant. [Applause.] The most impressive and costly memorial structure that the architect can plan or wealth execute is justified when the name of Grant is inscribed upon its base. [Applause.] This stone, which has now been laid, accompanied by this magnificent expression of popular interest, is only the top-stone of a foundation. It speaks to us of a structure imposing and graceful in its completeness, which shall rise from this supporting base. Shall it rise with stately progress, without check or tardiness, till the capstone is set amid the plaudits of the liberal and patriotic citizens of this great city? [Several voices: "Yes, yes."] Thus his fame grew, from Belmont to Appomattox, in whose honor this tomb is builded. [Applause.]

"I am glad to see here what seem to me to be adequate assurances that this work, so nobly planned, will be speedily consummated. Your distinguished citizen who has assumed as a labor of love the burden of conducting this great enterprise learned of his beloved friend and commander to exclude the word failure from his vocabulary." [Prolonged applause and cheering.]

A month later, the President visited Rochester, N. Y., to participate in the unveiling and dedication of the Soldiers' Monument there. He stopped for a short time at various places on the way, and addressed the multitudes that thronged the railroad stations to greet him.

The domestic life of the President has been pure and simple, as becomes an American citizen and Christian gentleman. Concerning it, a newspaper writer, who has had especially intimate relations with the White House, writes :

"The most charming and attractive trait in President Harrison's character is his love of home and domestic affections; manifestly simple, strong and inseparable. Whatever else may be said, this in its simplicity and purity brings the American people in close touch with the man whose every-day life, in its tenderness and strength, exalts the White House to the high ideal of a true American home. It is the simplicity and naturalness of the little homely duties and pleasures that make the charm and healthful domestic atmosphere of the White House. Perhaps the secret is the President has time for his home. While his official duties are performed with conscientious exactness, and the thousand and one cares are met squarely without neglect or delay; on the other hand, the humility of the man accepts the smallest homely duty or pleasure of family life with equal thought and exactness. Moral and

religious influences are upheld with the unpretending example and trust that shine in the humblest home in private life.

"The 'Presbyterian Cabinet' may be commented on, but nobody ever accuses the President of 'cant.' He is the last man of whom anything of the kind would be said. But no member of the 'Presbyterian Cabinet' holds more closely to religious observances in the family than the President. No morning is passed in the White House and no day's duties or pleasures are begun, without the brief family prayer. If there are guests, and as a rule there are, the lack of all pretence and restraint leaves them as free to personal wishes as if in their own homes. Therefore one never hears about the President's morning prayers, though it is all open and straightforward, but like everything else that he does, seems in keeping with the man."

"Whatever reserve of manner the President wears when preoccupied with official cares, or in his intercourse with strangers, no man is more warm and genial in his home and among friends in social life. But it must be said that the free, spontaneous demonstration of his nature is in his love of little children. This is unmistakably straight from the heart, and indeed, if there is ever a time when the President wears his heart on his sleeve, it is in the presence of children. They seem well aware of the fact, too, for in return

children are extremely fond of the President. There could be no better refutation of the charge of ‘coldness,’ for the heart of a child is as unerring as the instinct of a dog; and neither ‘takes’ to a cold-natured man. It is not only in his own family and among friends that children meet the President more than half way. But one may see it at every public handshaking, when the children alone win from him the flying moments, and his face lights up with smiles, while he detains them with pleasant words that are never beyond their childish understanding. Children feel the companionable sympathy of the quiet man who seems naturally to adapt his words to their young minds. The President’s youthful pleasures are in the White House nursery, where he is sure to go every day at his grandchildren’s dinner hour, and there forget for the time all cares of state in their childish fun and chatter. His love for his grandchildren is well known, and pardonable pride in his only grandson and namesake is more marked, perhaps, because of the boy’s passionate fondness for his grandfather. The child is never so happy as when he has the President quite to himself and by the hand, walking up and down the corridor asking his little questions, that he knows will be answered with great gentleness and patience.”

Official life at the White House is a thing apart from the domestic circle, and in it he displays

equally admirable traits. Says the writer already quoted :

"The health of the President, so long as he appears to be well, is of no particular concern. As a rule, Presidents who have served through their terms, have gone out of the White House in as good health, or better, apparently, than when they first took up the labors and responsibilities of the office. Among Presidents in the last quarter of a century, President Harrison is the best example to prove that being President agrees with a man. When Mr. Harrison first came to the White House, his face was sallow and deep-lined, his eyes were dull and listless, and his whole appearance was careworn in the extreme, showing but too plainly the effect of the fatigues and anxieties of the campaign. Now, however, the lines are smoothed out of his face, his complexion is clear and fresh, his eyes are bright and expressive, and from head to foot he gives the impression of a man in vigorous health of body and mind. In short, it is not wide of the mark to say that the President look ten years younger than he did three years ago.

"It was just the other day after the President's tri-weekly hand-shaking with the public that 'Jerry,' a sable memory of General Grant's administration, remarked in tones of wise reflection : 'Yes, sah. It do agree with all of 'em. They works powerful. But it don't hurt 'em, sah. I've

been here right smart while, and I've observed one thing, sah. It agrees mightily with all of 'em. It's a fact, too, the longer they stays the better they looks. Yes, sah. There's no mistake about that.'

"'Jerry' has seen Presidents come and Presidents go for twenty odd years. With his opportunities for close observation, he may be regarded as fair authority on the health of Presidents, and also that Presidents are hard-working men. It need hardly be said, therefore, that the great improvement in President Harrison is not wrought out of a life of ease. On the contrary, the President is a hard, steady, conscientious and untiring worker. But he thrives on his own even manner of life, and cool, frictionless methods of work. No President, with the exception of General Grant, has taken so much outdoor exercise. But whereas General Grant, though a good walker, was very fond of driving, and enjoyed long drives over country roads, President Harrison gets his air and exercise in long walks. An occasional drive is a pleasure, but his long daily walks are the tonic on which the President braces himself, and these are absolutely necessary to keep him well. The weather must needs be stormy indeed when he fails in his every-day walk. If prevented in one way or another from going out before dinner, he does not give it up, but steals quietly out as late as ten o'clock in the

evening, and walks alone for a half hour or more. It may be a brisk pace out to the boundary, or it may be repeated turns in the White House grounds. But the walk is a certainty before he retires for the night. The President is a good walker. When he can get an early start, at half after four o'clock, he strikes out for the country, and delights in a ten-mile tramp before dinner. Mrs. Harrison is not a good walker, and seldom accompanies the President even in short strolls within the city. His daughter or niece is his companion in these short walks.

"The President's long walks over country roads are almost always taken alone, except now and then, when his private secretary has the time, and perhaps it should be added, the endurance, to keep step with him. At first the President's tramps alone in the country were not regarded with favor by the White House attendants. Some of them, in their solicitude for his welfare, considered these lonely walks unsafe. It was not merely their solicitude for the President of the United States, but the loyalty of their warm affection for the quiet man whose unvarying kindness is the simple and unpretending rule of his daily intercourse with them. Among themselves, and, of course, without the knowledge of the President, they decided to protect him from any possible harm. It was planned that when the President struck out alone for the country, one of their

number should be not far behind him. But the little ruse did not work long. The President soon learned of this watchful care, and at once dispensed with it. He was touched by the devotion of the men, but declared that he never had the slightest fear in being alone anywhere, and he believed the President to be as safe as the private citizen. Though a broad-shouldered man, the President's lack of height would place him with men of small stature and ordinary strength. But President Harrison is an athlete in physical strength and in the well-trained use of it. Beside his regular and never-neglected outdoor exercise, which keeps him in splendid health, he also gives himself the exercise of indoor training, which develops and toughens, and enables a man to make the most advantageous use of physical strength.

"The President has proved this on one occasion, at least, within a year, when his strong arm and cool head served so well their purpose as to be a revelation to everybody cognizant of the circumstances. The occasion referred to was one evening when a young man crazed with drink broke into the private part of the White House and threatened the life of the President. On account of the family of the young fellow, but especially because of the personal appeal of the distressed mother, little was said about it, and the affair was passed over as of no serious moment. But the facts proved that it was no light disturbance

breaking the usual evening peace of the White House that night. The doorkeepers on duty in front were taken unawares by the attack from the South Portico. Their first warning was the crashing in of the Red Room windows, and the wild ravings of the young madman, shrieking with oaths his determinations to kill the President. In the darkness it was not possible to know if the attack proceeded from one person or several. The excitement over the New Orleans troubles was then high, and as the startled doorkeepers said: 'We naturally thought of the Italian Mafia at once.' Two doorkeepers grappled with the young man, but large, strong men as they are, were hardly a match for the superhuman strength of the crazed and foaming would-be assassin, who, at the outset of the desperate struggle, succeeded in inflicting a painful and stunning blow on the head of one of his captors. In the next moment, the President, who had heard the crashing glass, came down stairs quietly with his cane in his hand, and with one bound passed through the window and stood over the struggling, raving young fellow, holding his arms down as firmly as if they had been fastened by a vice.

"It was all like a sudden flash of light on the darkness around them. Not a word was spoken until the President, as quiet and cool as if he had just shaken hands with a visitor, turned and said: 'Have you any more of them here?' The men

did not know. They had their hands too full with one to look for any more. When the President had made his search alone, into the dark corners of the portico, and had assured himself that there were no concealed accomplices to follow up the attack, he said in the same cool, quiet way :

“‘ And now, what else can I do for you ?’

“‘ If you can cut that window-cord, Mr. President, I think it will do to tie him,’ was the reply.

“ The President cut the cord, and bending over his young assailant, with a few passes had him securely tied, hand and foot. Then he went upstairs to assure his frightened family that nothing serious had occurred. The man whose face had suffered in the encounter, afterward said :

“‘ The President was the coolest, quietest man I ever saw, and plucky, too. The thing was so sudden, and in the darkness nobody could tell how many there might be skulking in those corners. But he never thought of his own danger at all. He’d be a match for more than one, though, for his strength is something astonishing, and he is as quick as lightning. When it was all over, he looked after my broken head, and you ought to have seen him then—just as kind and tender as if I’d been his own son. He wasn’t so cool then, when he was thinking of me. He was as warm and sympathetic as any man could be. Mrs. Harrison came down and fixed up the bruises herself — and they were both distressed and

anxious to relieve the pain. It's the President's quiet way, without any words, that a fellow can't forget. When a man is brave, and tender, too, there isn't much more to be said. But I can tell you, since that night I would like to follow such a leader. I'd do anything in the world for the President. Every man of us in the White House feels the same way. We know him, and he's a brave, big-hearted man, tender as a child. All the stuff about his reserve and coldness is just his quiet way on the outside.'

'President Harrison's methods of work are cool, systematic and constant. He is a sensitive man, but he is not a man of nervous temperament. He wastes neither time nor energy in fretting, is never fussy, and never in a hurry to finish up things at the last moment. He has not lost a day by illness since he entered the White House, and his work has never been delayed twenty-four hours. He is too methodical to put off or leave work unfinished. The President begins his day's work at nine o'clock, with his private secretary disposing of correspondence, and there is little to which he does not give his personal attention. He goes right through with it like a man who has work that must be done, and there is nothing more to be said about it. In much the same way the President goes right through with the business of seeing Senators and Representatives every morning. He has no 'small talks,' and no words not to the

point, but briefly ‘says his say’ and does not repeat himself.

“At no time during his office-hours does he lose his train of thought on the day’s work. He carries it with him, and no interruptions by visitors break the line. This preoccupation is much of the reserve people complain of and criticise. At the Cabinet meetings the President is the man who talks to the point with the fewest words. He has the trained mind of a lawyer, and his remarkable adaptability and great capacity for work make him the ‘all around man’ of the administration. He is as well informed on the Departments as his Cabinet officers, and his knowledge of the details is often a matter of astonishment to them. In the absence or illness of a Cabinet officer, it is the President who swings into the breach and directs the affairs of that Department. After the sudden death of Secretary Windom, it was the President who was Secretary of the Treasury for the months following until the vacancy was filled. At that time, when financial questions of vital interest were before the country, the President, cool and quiet, sat for hours by the wires over which his instructions flashed to New York in the wise direction of affairs. After the new Secretary, Mr. Foster, had learned something as he supposed from his subordinates in the Treasury Department, he found on a visit to the White House that the President was better posted than the men

in his own Department. ‘Why!’ exclaimed Mr. Foster, abruptly but expressively, ‘I’ll be hanged if Harrison doesn’t know all about his own work and mine too. I wish I had gone to the White House in the first place. I’d have saved time by it.’

“During the illness which compelled the absence of the Secretary of State, the President again proved the ‘all around man’ of his administration, and directed affairs of diplomacy as ably and readily as he had directed affairs of finance—and at a time when occasion showed him to be a diplomat and statesman in the settlement of most delicate international questions.

“Law questions in the Department of Justice, Indian questions, as well as many others of grave importance, find the President as well equipped to take them in hand as the Cabinet officers whose immediate province is the study and disposition of these affairs.

“President Harrison has educated himself in department work largely by his own methods. Like his predecessors, he has regular Cabinet meetings twice a week, and special meetings when occasion requires them. But it is not at these meetings that he gets his ‘schooling’ in departmental details. He has individual Cabinet meetings, that is, the meetings of himself and one Cabinet officer in turn, on stated afternoons. For example, the Secretary of the Interior meets with the

President on one afternoon, when the business of that Department alone is gone over. On another afternoon it is the Attorney-General who meets with the President and is advised in business in the Department of Justice. These meetings may not occupy more than a half hour, or may fill an hour's time. But it is in this well-organized, methodical, every-day school that the President studies and learns even to small details the business of the great Departments of the Government, and therefore is able at any moment to place himself at the head of each."

CHAPTER IX.

THE TENTH REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The flourishing city of Minneapolis, the metropolis of Minnesota, so charmingly situated on the Mississippi river, at the Falls of St. Anthony, was the locality selected by the Republican National Committee as the seat of the Nominating Convention of 1892; and thither for days previous to the 7th of June—the date fixed for the opening—delegates made their way from all quarters of the United States, every train bearing its quota of ardent partisans, each sure of the success of his especial candidate, and prepared to do his full share of the work necessary to secure his nomination. At this early period the coming contest seemed drawn sharply between two candidates, Benjamin Harrison, the existing President, and James G. Blaine, Secretary of State in his Cabinet. Other names were mentioned, but these alone had any strong following.

Properly speaking, Mr. Blaine was not a candidate. On February, 8, 1892, he had written a letter to General Clarkson, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, which contained these significant words: “I am not a candidate for the Presidency, and my name will not go before the Republican National Convention.” Yet

despite this unmistakable disclaimer, Mr. Blaine was known to be so great a favorite with the great bulk of the Republican party, that his friends were determined to force his nomination, if possible, with the conviction that he would not refuse it if offered to him by the majority of the Convention.

They had no light task before them. The highly successful administration of President Harrison, and his unquestioned ability as a statesman, had gained him so large a following in the ranks and among the leaders of the party, that when the time drew near for the opening of the Convention it was impossible to say which of the two leading names stood strongest with the delegates. Each wing of the party expressed itself as sure of victory, yet each felt the necessity of hard and unflagging exertion.

Earnest efforts were made to induce Mr. Blaine to withdraw his declination, or to say something to encourage his friends in their support; but he steadily declined to do so, finally stating positively that he would write no more letters on the subject, while he seemed equally determined not to commit himself in speech.

But on the 4th of June, three days before the opening of the Convention, he took a step that quite changed the aspect of the situation, no less a one than that of resigning his office as Secretary of State. The following brief correspondence passed between him and the President:

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
“WASHINGTON, June 4, 1892.

“*To the President:*

“I respectfully beg leave to submit my resignation of the office of Secretary of State of the United States, to which I was appointed by you on the 5th of March, 1889.

“The condition of public business in the Department of State justifies me in requesting that my resignation may be accepted immediately.

“I have the honor to be,

“Very respectfully,

“Your obedient servant,

“JAMES G. BLAINE.”

To this very brief letter, the President returned as brief an answer, promptly accepting the resignation.

“EXECUTIVE MANSION,

“WASHINGTON, June 4, 1892.

“*To the Secretary of State:*

“Your letter of this date, tendering your resignation of the office of Secretary of State of the United States, has been received. The terms in which you state your desires are such as to leave me no choice but to accede to your wishes at once.

“Your resignation is therefore accepted.

“Very respectfully yours,

“BENJAMIN HARRISON.

“Hon. James G. Blaine.”

This correspondence naturally caused an immense sensation. Although Mr. Blaine declared that his resignation had nothing to do with the Convention, it was accepted by his advocates as a positive assurance that he would not refuse a nomination if offered him. Many believed his resignation to be a distinct bid for the Presidency, and the people at large looked upon it as Mr. Blaine's answer to the incessant questions with which he had been for weeks annoyed. His friends among the delegates were immensely encouraged. They felt now that the way was clear before them, and went to work with a will and an enthusiasm which they had not before displayed.

At this stage of affairs, it looked as if only two names, those of Harrison and Blaine, would be presented to the Convention, and that a single ballot would decide the contest. But as the hours and days went on, the strength of the opposing sections seemed so even that it was impossible to decide to which the nomination would fall, and other names began to be vaguely considered.

Such was the general outlook of affairs when the Convention was called to order, shortly after noon on June 7th, by Chairman Clarkson of the National Committee, and the Hon. J. Sloat Fassett, of New York, was nominated for Temporary Chairman. The selection of Mr. Fassett by the National Committee was a triumph for the Blaine

section, particularly as the Harrison delegates, as if not willing to risk a show of strength, made no counter-nomination, and permitted Mr. Fassett to be elected by acclamation. He took the chair under a tremendous outburst of applause from the Blaine delegates, who knew him to be strongly in favor of their candidate, and opened the Convention with a stirring speech, in which he sedulously avoided taking sides. We give the following extract:

"The Republican party has never yet made a mistake in its choice of candidates," he said. "It will not make a mistake here. All over this broad land, the bonfires are set to be lighted, the flags are ready to be unfurled, and the Republicans at home are waiting to shout in approval of your nominee.

"The history of our party since 1856 is the history of our country. There is not a single page but shines brighter for some act or some word of some great Republican. Count over our chosen whom we are teaching our children to love, emulate and reverence, and you shall name Republicans—Lincoln, Seward, Grant, Sherman, Garfield, Logan, Harrison and Blaine. These are a few of our jewels, and we may proudly turn to our Democratic friends with the defiance, 'Match 'em.' These men became great and remained great through their belief and advocacy of the ennobling and inspiring doctrines of the Republican faith.

"I have not the time even to catalogue the long list of great works undertaken and performed. You are all familiar with the story of the irrepressible conflict undertaken and concluded ; slavery abolished ; a public credit established ; the Constitution and the Union restored and reconstructed ; the old flag washed clean of every stain, and new stars added to its glory ; the wide West thrown open to easy access and settlement ; the policy of protection to American labor and American industries established, developed and vindicated ; the markets of the world opened by the persuasive logic of reciprocity to the products of the American workshop and the American farm, until to-day the nations of the earth are paying tribute to the sagacity of our legislation and diplomacy in millions upon millions of increased purchases, and Lord Salisbury has been driven to the significant confession that even in England free trade has proved disappointing. Rivers and harbors have been opened to commerce ; the white hulls of our new navy are plowing the waters of every sea ; peace has been maintained at home and respects secured abroad. And so the list might be extended and expanded, while our political adversaries, though perpetually using every measure of our new Republican policy, are compelled to act in the wisdom of our course, and to confess that we have been right and that they have been wrong."

He was followed with a brief address from ex-Speaker Reed, to whom Mr. Fassett had appreciatively referred, after which the list of secretaries and other officers selected by the National Committee was read, and these officers were elected by acclamation.

The next duty before the Convention was the roll-call of States and Territories, the Chairman of each delegation being requested to announce the names of the persons selected to serve on the several committees, as follows: Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business, Credentials, and Resolutions. This work performed, the Convention adjourned, to meet again at 11 o'clock the next morning.

The work of the Convention now lay with these committees, particularly with those on Credentials and Resolutions, whose work must precede any definite action in the way of nominations. The seats of a considerable number of delegates from the South, principally colored men, were contested; and the question of admission of delegates from the Indian Territory was to be decided. The committee proved to have a majority of Blaine delegates, but its Chairman, General Cogswell, of Massachusetts, was on the Harrison side, so that the honors were somewhat evenly divided. Its decision was looked for with much interest, as it might add considerably to the strength of one or the other of the candidates.

The Committee on Resolutions had an equally difficult task to perform—not as concerned the nomination, but as affected the strength of the party. The diversity of opinions on coinage needed to be reconciled, if possible, and a plank added to the platform that would satisfy the free silver men, while not offending the advocates of a gold standard. Ex-Governor Foraker, of Ohio, was chosen Chairman of this committee, and the several committees went diligently to work.

The Convention met again on Wednesday morning, only to find that another delay was before it. The Committee on Credentials announced that it was not ready to report, and could not be until the next day. Time for further consideration was asked and granted. The Committee on Organization had made more progress. Its Chairman, Mr. Lockwood, of Idaho, announced the name of Governor William McKinley, of Ohio, for Permanent Chairman; a selection which was received with a general outburst of enthusiastic approval, and was ratified by acclamation.

When the popular hero of high tariff advanced to the chair, the applause was deafening, the roar of voices being added to by stamping of feet and clapping of hands, while the Ohio delegation waved hats and flags in wild delight. Advancing to the front of the platform, Mr. McKinley spoke as follows :

"*Gentlemen of the Convention:*—I thank you for the honor of presiding over this Convention of the Republican party. Republican conventions mean something. They have always meant something. Republican conventions say what they mean and mean what they say. They declare principles and policies and purposes, and when intrusted with power, execute and enforce them. The first National Convention of the Republican party was held thirty-six years ago in the city of Philadelphia. The platform of that great Convention reads to-day more like inspiration than the affirmation of a political party. [Great applause.]

"Every provision of that great instrument made by the Fathers of our party is on public statutes of our country to-day. Every one of them has been embodied into public law, and that cannot be said of the platform of any other political organization in this or any other country of the world. Whenever there is anything to be done in this country and by this country and for this country, the Republican party is called upon to do it. There is one thing that can be said about our organization that cannot be said about any other. It can look backward without shame or humiliation, and it can look forward with cheer and exultation. [Great applause.]

* * * *

"We are for a protective tariff and for reciprocity. [Great applause.] We propose to take

no backward step upon either one of these great Republican principles. We stand for protective tariff because it represents the American home, the American fireside, the American family, the American girl, the American boy, and the highest possibilities of American citizenship. [Applause.]

"We propose to raise our money for public expenses by taxing the products of other nations rather than by taxing the products of our own. [Applause.] The Democratic party believe in direct taxation, that is, in taxing ourselves; but we do not believe in that principle so long as we can find anybody else to tax. Our protective tariff not only does everything which a revenue tariff is doing—raising all needed revenues, but a protective tariff does more. A protective tariff encourages and stimulates American industries, and gives the widest possibilities to American genius and American effort.

* * * *

"This contest that we enter upon is for the maintenance of protection and reciprocity. And I want to say here that there is not a line in that tariff bill that is not American, there is not a passage that is not patriotic; there is not a page that does not represent true Americanism and the highest possibilities of American citizenship. [Great applause.]

"We are to declare ourselves upon other questions here to-day. We are to declare ourselves

upon the question of a free ballot and a fair count. [Applause.] No platform should ever be made that does not reiterate that great constitutional guarantee, no Republican speech should ever be made that does not insist firmly and resolutely that that great constitutional guaranty shall be a living birthright, not a cold formality of constitutional enactment, but a living thing which the poorest and humblest may confidently enjoy and which the richest and most powerful dare not deny."

The report of the Committee on Rules was next received. Its decision as to order of business was as follows: Reports of the Committees on Credentials, Permanent Organization and Resolutions; naming of members of the National Committee; presentation of candidates for President; balloting; presentation of candidates for Vice-President; balloting. The rules of the Republican House of Representatives were suggested as suitable to govern the deliberations of the Convention. This report was accepted by acclamation.

Ex-Governor Foraker, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, next took the floor, and followed the action of the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, in asking for more time. This was granted, and Chairman McKinley announced: "The Convention will now consider names of candidates for the Presidency."

He had evidently forgotten the order of business just accepted, and was reminded by Senators Cullom and Ingalls that nominations must wait until after the committees had reported. This being the case, that day's business was at an end, and the Convention was declared adjourned until 11 A. M., on Thursday.

The unusual delay in getting to work had, in the opinion of many, secret reasons which underlay and were more potent than the open ones. The leaders of the two sections had been unweariedly busy in seeking to add to their respective strength, and doubts of the possibility of nominating either candidate were growing hourly stronger. In this dilemma new counsels came into vogue. The idea of selecting a "dark horse" grew increasingly prominent. At first no names but those of Harrison and Blaine had been seriously considered. Now the names of McKinley, Reed, Sherman, Rusk and Alger became more and more debated, as desirable compromise candidates. Of these, that of McKinley gained strength hourly, and on the assembling of the delegates on the morning of June 10th, the outlook for nomination was markedly different from that which had prevailed a few days before.

It was quickly evident that there was to be new delay. The Committee on Credentials was not yet prepared to report, and asked for further time, stating that it hoped to be ready to report

at eight o'clock that evening. A recess was accordingly taken, after hearing a resolution from Senator Cullom, of Illinois, in favor of government support for the Chicago World's Fair, and one from Mr. Roberts, of the same State, admitting Grand Army men, who had no tickets of admission, to the Convention Hall; both of which were referred to the Committee on Resolutions, and eventually adopted.

The hour of 8 P. M. arrived, and the members assembled, but it was 8.50 before the Convention was called to order, the Committee on Credentials being then only prepared to submit a verbal report. There were, in fact, two reports to be submitted, a majority report which favored Harrison delegates, and a minority report in favor of the Blaine section. The majority recommended the approval of twenty-three of the contested delegates then seated in the Convention, and the unseating of seventeen, an action whose net result would be a gain of about twelve votes for Harrison. The minority report was not quite ready. It advocated changes in the Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana contingents in favor of Blaine delegates.

And now came a highly significant test of strength. After some skirmishing, a roll-call of States was ordered on the question of substituting the minority for the majority report in the case of the Alabama delegates—the only ones as yet reported on by the minority. The result was a

decided Harrison victory, the motion being defeated by a vote of 423 ayes to 462 nays. This action was followed by a vote to accept the majority report, which was carried by 476 ayes to 365 nays. The Convention then adjourned, having been in session for five hours, and during the last hour in partial darkness, the city electric lights having been shut off at midnight.

The night's work had made a decided change in the aspect of affairs. The roll-call had developed an unexpectedly strong Harrison vote, and the anti-Harrison section of the Convention retired to their beds in great discouragement. A meeting of the Blaine leaders was held the next morning, at which a strong disposition appeared in favor of concentrating their strength on some compromise candidate, the weight of opinion being in favor of throwing the whole of the anti-Harrison vote to McKinley, since it appeared evident that Blaine was not the choice of the Convention. No definite conclusion was reached, however.

Meanwhile the Committee on Resolutions had completed its work, and was prepared to report to the Convention the 1892 Platform of the Republican party. We give below the full text of this declaration of Republican principles :

The representatives of the Republicans of the United States, assembled in general convention

on the shores of the Mississippi river, the everlasting bond of an indestructible republic, whose most glorious chapter of history is the record of the Republican party, congratulate their countrymen on the majestic march of the nation under the banners inscribed with the principles of our platform of 1888, vindicated by victory at the polls and prosperity in our fields, workshops and mines, and make the following declaration of principles :

PROTECTION.

We reaffirm the American doctrine of protection. We call attention to its growth abroad. We maintain that the prosperous condition of our country is largely due to the wise revenue legislation of the Republican Congress.

We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.

We assert that the prices of manufactured articles of general consumption have been reduced under the operations of the tariff act of 1890.

We denounce the efforts of the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives to destroy our tariff laws, as is manifested by their attacks upon wool, lead and lead ores, the chief

product of a number of States, and we ask the people for their judgment thereon.

RECIPROCITY.

We point to the success of the Republican policy of reciprocity, under which our export trade has vastly increased and new and enlarged markets have been opened for the products of our farms and workshops.

We remind the people of the bitter opposition of the Democratic party to this practical business measure, and claim that, executed by a Republican Administration, our present laws will eventually give us control of the trade of the world.

GOLD AND SILVER.

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bi-metallism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity values of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold or paper, shall be at all times equal. The interests of the producers of the country, its farmers and its working men demand that every dollar, paper or coin, issued by the Government shall be as good as any other. We commend the wise and patriotic steps already taken by

our Government to secure an international conference, to adopt such measures as will insure a parity of value between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

THE BALLOT.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot in all public elections, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast; that such laws shall be enacted and enforced as will secure to every citizen, be he rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, this sovereign right guaranteed by the Constitution.

The free and honest popular ballot, the just and equal representation of all the people, as well as their just and equal protection under the laws, are the foundation of our Republican institutions, and the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State.

SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

We denounce the continued inhuman outrages perpetrated upon American citizens for political reasons in certain Southern States of the Union.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

We favor the extension of our foreign commerce, the restoration of our mercantile marine

by home-built ships, and the creation of a navy for the protection of our national interests and the honor of our flag ; the maintenance of the most friendly relations with all foreign Powers, entangling alliance with none, and the protection of the rights of our fishermen.

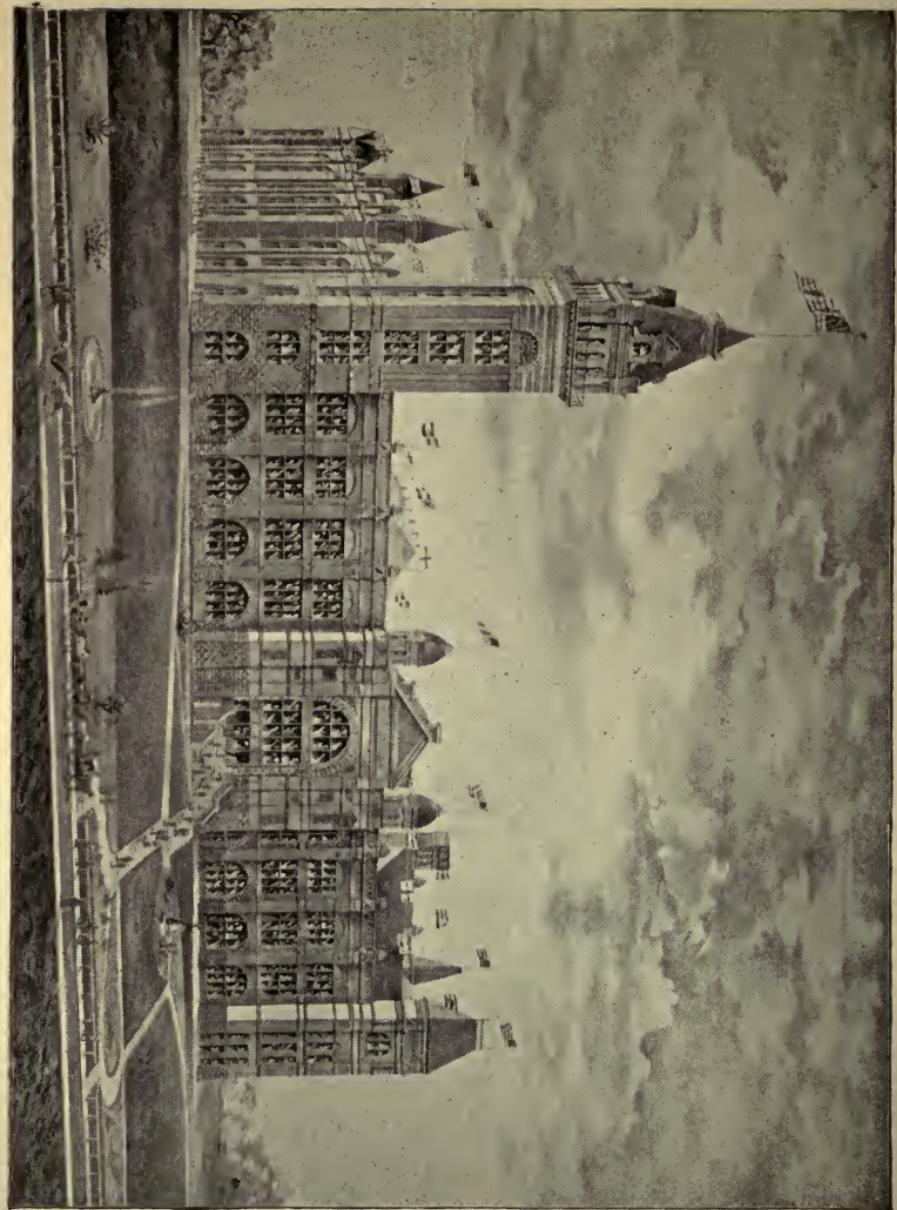
We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and believe in the achievement of the manifest destiny of the Republic in its broadest sense.

We favor the enactment of more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper and contract immigration.

MISCELLANEOUS.

We favor efficient legislation by Congress to protect the life and limbs of employees of transportation companies engaged in carrying on inter-state commerce, and recommend legislation by the respective States that will protect employees engaged in State commerce, in mining and manufacturing. The Republican party has always been the champion of the oppressed and recognizes the dignity of manhood, irrespective of faith, color or nationality ; it sympathizes with the cause of Home Rule in Ireland, and protests against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

The ultimate reliance of free popular Government is the intelligence of the people and the maintenance of freedom among its men. We, therefore, declare anew our devotion to liberty of



EXTERIOR OF CONVENTION HALL.

thought and conscience, of speech and press, and approve all agencies and instrumentalities which contribute to the education of the children of the land, but while insisting upon the fullest measure of religious liberty, we are opposed to any union of Church and State.

We reaffirm our opposition, declared in the Republican platform of 1888, to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise, to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens. We heartily endorse the action already taken upon this subject, and ask for such further legislation as may be required to remedy any defects in existing laws, and to render their enforcement more complete and effective.

We approve the policy of extending to towns, villages and rural communities the advantages of the free delivery service, now enjoyed by the larger cities of the country, and reaffirm the declaration contained in the Republican platform of 1888, pledging the reduction of letter postage to one cent at the earliest possible moment consistent with the maintenance of the Post-office Department and the highest class of postal service.

CIVIL SERVICE.

We commend the spirit and evidence of reform in the civil service and the wise and consistent

enforcement by the Republican party of the laws regulating the same.

NICARAGUA CANAL.

The construction of the Nicaragua Canal is of the highest importance to the American people as a measure of national defence and to build up and maintain American commerce, and it should be controlled by the United States Government.

TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practical date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona-fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

ARID LANDS.

We favor cession, subject to the homestead laws, of the arid public lands to the States and Territories in which they lie, under such Congressional restrictions as to disposition, reclamation and occupancy by settlers as will secure the maximum benefits to the people.

THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

The World's Columbian Exposition is a great national undertaking, and Congress should promptly enact such reasonable legislation in aid

thereof as will insure a discharging of the expense and obligations incident thereto, and the attainment of results commensurate with the dignity and progress of the nation.

INTEMPERANCE.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

PENSIONS.

Ever mindful of the services and sacrifices of the men who saved the life of the nation, we pledge anew to the veteran soldiers of the Republic a watchful care and recognition of their just claims upon a grateful people.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

We commend the able, patriotic and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison. Under it the country has enjoyed remarkable prosperity, and the dignity and honor of the nation at home and abroad have been faithfully maintained, and we offer the record of pledges kept as a guarantee of faithful performance in the future.

At 11.30 on Friday morning, June 10th, the Convention was called to order for what was destined to prove its final day's work. The question which had been left unfinished on the previous evening, that of the acceptance of the report of the Committee on Credentials, first came up for

action. The majority report had been in part accepted during the evening session, and the remainder was now carried without opposition, the minority report being withdrawn. This action indicated that the anti-Harrison managers were willing that the Convention should get down to the work of balloting without delay.

At this point in the proceedings a communication was received from the Woman's Republican Association of the United States, and Mrs. Ellen Foster, President of the Association, was invited to the stand. Mrs. Foster's speech—the first ever delivered by a woman before a National Convention—was received with favor and applause, particularly when she declared that the grandest State in the whole galaxy of the Union was Wyoming, in which woman had been recognized as the political equal of man.

Amid great cheering, the Chair now announced that the next order of business would be the nomination of candidates for President, and the roll of States was ordered to be called. When Colorado was reached, Senator Wolcott advanced to the platform, and in a voice that rang through the hall, began :

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: The Republicans of the West sometimes differ with the Republicans of the East as to what is wanted. On this occasion, there is remarkable unanimity between genuine Republicans of the

West and genuine Republicans of the East as to who is needed, and his name is Blaine."

He proceeded with a speech which throughout was a fine example of oratory, and closed with a nomination of James G. Blaine for the Presidency. His remarks were followed by an enthusiastic outburst of applause, though it continued but a few minutes, and lacked much of the old-time Blaine spontaneity.

When Indiana was reached, the venerable Richard T. Thompson, ex-Secretary of the Navy, arose, with the following words: "I nominate to this Convention for the Presidency of the United States the wise statesman, Benjamin Harrison."

He was interrupted with a wild burst of applause which lasted for several minutes, and which came, significantly, mainly from the delegates, while that for Blaine had come largely from the galleries.

After order had been restored, the roll-call proceeded without interruption until Minnesota was reached, when Delegate Eustis rose to second the nomination of Blaine. His brief address was the signal for a scene such as has rarely been witnessed in a nominating convention. As if by concerted action, the whole great audience seemed to break at once into a chorus of cheers and yells of applause, that filled the air with a deafening clamor. The signal for this wild outburst was given by a lady of remarkable personal beauty, who rose behind the speaker's stand, and .

waved a white parasol in the air as she excitedly proposed three cheers for Blaine. Again and again the roar of shouts and cheers broke out, with the old campaign cry of "Blaine! Blaine! James G. Blaine!" the lady leader starting it again at every lull, until she herself fell back in her chair from sheer exhaustion. Other ladies joined her in her enthusiasm.

Three times Chairman McKinley ordered the band to play, but its sound was utterly lost in the roar of the perspiring crowd, and not until twenty minutes had passed could order be restored, when the shouters had completely used up their vocal powers. A storm of hisses from the Harrison delegates had its share in bringing the Convention to order. Applause broke out again, though not in such unmanageable fervor, when Mississippi was reached, and Mr. Mattison, a colored delegate, rose to second the Blaine nomination. After the cheers which followed his speech had ended, the roll-call was resumed, and the name of New York quickly reached. Chauncey M. Depew now rose to his feet, and seconded the nomination of Harrison, in a speech which was the most elaborate in oratorical effort of the Convention. His address is too long for reproduction here, but we cannot desist from extracting its most telling portion.

"We live in practical times," said Mr. Depew, "facing practical issues which affect the business,

the wages, the labor, and the prosperity of to-day. It will be won or lost upon the policy, foreign and domestic, the industrial measures and the administrative acts of the administration of Benjamin Harrison. Whoever receives the nomination of this Convention will run upon the judgment of the people as to whether they have been more prosperous and more happy, whether the country has been in a better condition at home and stood more honorable abroad under these last four years of Harrison and Republican administration, than during the preceding four years of Cleveland and Democratic government.

"Not since Thomas Jefferson, has any administration been called upon to face and solve so many or such difficult problems as those which have been exigent in our conditions. No administration since the organization of the government has ever met difficulties better or more to the satisfaction of the American people. Chili has been taught that, no matter how small the antagonist, no community can with a safety insult the flag or murder American sailors. Germany and England have learned in Samoa, that United States has become one of the powers of the world, and no matter how mighty the adversary, at every sacrifice, American honor will be maintained. The Bering Sea question, which was the insurmountable obstacle in the diplomacy of Cleveland and of Bayard, has been settled upon a basis which sustains the American

people until arbitration shall have determined our right. The dollar of the country has been placed and kept on the standard of commercial nations, and a convention has been agreed upon with foreign governments, which, by making bi-metallism the policy of all nations, may successfully solve all our financial problems. The tariff, tinkered with and trifled with to the serious disturbance of trade and disaster to business since the days of Washington, has been courageously embodied into a code which has preserved the principle of the production of American industries. To it has been added a beneficent policy, supplemented by beneficial treaties and wise diplomacy, which has opened to our farmers and manufacturers the markets of other countries. The navy has been builded upon lines which will protect American citizens and American interests and the American flag all over the world. The public debt has been reduced. The maturing bonds have been paid off. The public credit has been maintained. The burdens of taxation have been lightened. Two hundred millions of currency have been added to the people's money without disturbances of the exchanges.

"Unexampled prosperity has crowned wise laws and their wise administration. The main question which divides us is, to whom does the credit of all this belong? Orators may stand upon this platform more able and more eloquent than I, who will

paint in more brilliant colors, but they cannot put in more earnest thought, the affection and admiration of Republicans for our distinguished Secretary of State. I yield to no Republican, no matter from what State he hails, in admiration and respect for John Sherman, for Governor McKinley, for Thomas B. Reed, for Iowa's great Senator, for the favorites of Illinois and Wisconsin, but when I am told that the credit for the brilliant diplomacy of this administration belongs exclusively to the Secretary of State, for the administration of its finances to the Secretary of the Treasury, for the construction of its ships to the Secretary of the Navy, for the introduction of American pork in Europe to the Secretary of Agriculture, for the settlement, so far as it is settled, of the currency question, to Senator John Sherman, for the formulation of the tariff laws to Governor McKinley, for the removal of the restrictions placed by foreign nations upon the introduction of American pork to our ministers at Paris and Berlin, I am tempted to seriously inquire, who during the last four years has been President of the United States, anyhow?

"Cæsar, when he wrote those Commentaries, which were the history of the conquests of Europe under his leadership, modestly took the position of Eneas when he said: 'They are the narrative of events, the whole of which I saw and the part of which I was.' General Thomas, as the rock of

Chickamauga, occupies a place in our history with Leonidas among the Greeks, except that he succeeded where Leonidas failed. The fight of Joe Hooker above the clouds was the poetry of battle. The resistless rush of Sheridan and his steed down the valley of the Shenandoah is the epic of our civil war. The march of Sherman from Atlanta to the sea is the supreme triumph of gallantry and strategy. It detracts nothing from the splendor or the merits of the deeds of his lieutenants to say that having selected them with marvellous sagacity and discretion Grant still remained the supreme commander of the national army.

"All the proposed acts of any administration before they are formulated are passed upon in Cabinet council, and the measures and suggestions of the ablest Secretaries would have failed with a lesser President; but for the great good of the country and the benefit of the Republican party, they have succeeded because of the suggestive mind, the indomitable courage, the intelligent appreciation of situation, and the grand magnanimity of Benjamin Harrison. It is an undisputed fact that during the few months when both the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury were ill, the President personally assumed the duties of the State Department and of the Treasury Department, and both with equal success.

"The Secretary of State, in accepting his portfolio under President Garfield, wrote: 'Your administration must be made brilliant, successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all diverting its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.' Garfield fell before the bullet of the assassin and Mr. Blaine retired to private life. General Harrison invited him to take up that unfinished diplomatic career where its threads had been so tragically broken. He entered the Cabinet. He resumed his work, and has won a higher place in our history. The prophecy he made for Garfield has been superbly fulfilled by Harrison. In the language of Mr. Blaine: 'The President has compelled a re-election by the logic of events and the imperious necessities of the situation.' "

Mr. Depew's speech was followed by another outburst of applause, during which adherents of both parties marched about the hall bearing banners, portraits of Harrison and Blaine were swung in the air, the tri-colored Blaine plumes were hoisted on every side, the band played its liveliest tune, and Hon. Frederick Douglas, the leader of the colored race, mounted a chair and waved his hat in the air, while his white hair waved in the breeze.

For some twenty minutes this excitement continued, when the Chairman again brought the Convention to order. Ex-Senator Warner Miller,

of New York, now took the platform to answer his colleague and second the nomination of Blaine. His brief address was followed by one from Hon. H. P. Cheatham, of North Carolina, in favor of Harrison, and by a colored orator from Tennessee who spoke for Blaine. When Wisconsin was reached, the name of "Spooner" was shouted by a hundred voices, and the popular ex-Senator rose to give his tribute to Harrison, amid a deafening outburst of cheers. A brief extract from his speech will suffice. He said :

"National Republican Conventions have not been accustomed to make mistakes. That which met at Chicago in 1888 made no mistake when it entrusted the power and responsibility and leadership to Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, and Benjamin Harrison made no mistakes. He quickly proved himself an ideal candidate and a leader who led. Millions of hostile and eager eyes searched his whole life in vain for spot or blemish. On the march and in the battle no man rode before him. Calm, dignified and wise, every day brought from his lips a deliverance, in itself a perfect platform, unexcelled for grace of diction, power of epigrammatic statement, and the spirit of true eloquence. He imbued the party with renewed vigor and strength, and intrepidly led it to victory. His friends bring his name into this Convention, proudly conscious that the record which he has made needs not to be supplemented

by word of advocacy. He has been from the day of his inauguration what the people elected him to be—the President of the United States. He has given to the country an administration which for ability, efficiency, purity and patriotism challenges without fear of comparison any which has preceded since the foundation of the government.

* * * * Every interest of the people has had his best care, his best thought, and he stands before the country to-day well approved and universally acknowledged to be a man of transcendent ability, of extraordinary capacity for the discharge of executive duty, of exalted patriotism and lofty purpose, who would not for a unanimous renomination by this Convention and a re-election by the people swerve one hair's breadth in any matter of duty, great or small, from what he believes to be just and right."

The roll-call of States was concluded with a brief address from Mr. S. W. Downey, of Wyoming, in favor of Blaine, after which a motion was put and carried that the Convention should proceed to ballot.

At ten minutes past three the Convention was rapped to order by the Chairman, who announced that there was a matter of some moment to be settled before balloting could proceed. It related to the delegates from Alaska and the Indian Territory, who had not yet been given the right to vote. The question was put to the Conven-

tion, and decided in the affirmative—these Territories being thus given for the first time the privilege of voting in a Republican National Convention

The roll-call of States now began, and as it proceeded it quickly became evident that the Harrison star was in the ascendent. The anti-Harrison routes instead of being concentrated on one name seemed evenly divided between Blaine and McKinley, Ohio casting her vote solid for the latter, with the exception of the vote of the Chairman himself, which was cast for Harrison.

After the vote of Texas had been announced, "twenty-two for Harrison," the final result was so evident, that Chairman McKinley called Col. Shepard, of New York, to his seat, and taking the floor, moved "that the rules be suspended, and Benjamin Harrison be nominated President by acclamation."

This motion was so strongly opposed by delegates of the opposite side, that McKinley deemed it expedient to withdraw it, and the balloting proceeded, coming to a conclusion at about 4.30 P. M. In a few minutes afterwards it was announced that the clerks had finished their enumeration, and the official vote was ready to be proclaimed. Silence fell upon the assembly as the Secretary rose to his feet, scroll in hand, and read as follows :

"Whole number of votes cast, 904½ ; necessary to choice, 453. Benjamin Harrison received

536 1-6; James G. Blaine received 182 1-6; William McKinley, 182; Robert T. Lincoln, 1; Thomas B. Reed, 4."

The Chairman thereupon announced: "President Benjamin Harrison has received a majority of the votes cast and has received the nomination of the Convention. Shall it be unanimous? [Loud cries of "Yes."] The nomination is made unanimous."

The motion to take a recess till 8 P. M. was immediately offered and agreed to, and the excited assemblage dispersed, the victorious majority in a blaze of enthusiasm and delight.

The evening session was little more than a ratification meeting. By tacit consent the selection of the nominee for Vice-President had been left to the New York delegation, which, after some consideration of the name of Vice-President Morton, settled unanimously upon that of Hon Whitelaw Reid.

The Convention was called to order at a few minutes before 9 P. M., and the announcement made by the Chairman that the next order of business was the nomination of candidates for the Vice-Presidency. The call of States began, and when New York was reached, State Senator O'Connor rose, and in a brief speech put in nomination the name of Hon. Whitelaw Reid. General Horace Porter followed with an eloquent tribute to the nominee, and Governor Bulkley, of Connecticut, spoke briefly to the same effect.

At the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. J. C. Settle, of Tennessee, took the floor, and on behalf of Tennessee, put in nomination "one of the grandest characters in American politics, Hon. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine." Loud cheering followed, and at its close Mr. Littlefield, of Maine, in behalf of the Maine delegation, expressed it as the opinion of the delegation that Mr. Reed would decline the nomination. Mr. Settle replied that he had nominated Mr. Reed without consultation, and simply from his high estimation of his character and ability as a statesman, but, in deference to the wishes of the Maine delegation, would withdraw the name.

Mr. Carney, of Iowa, then moved to suspend the rules and make the nomination unanimous. This was done, and Mr. Reid was nominated by the voice of the whole assembly as candidate for Vice-President of the United States.

A resolution of thanks to Chairman McKinley received a unanimous vote, followed by a similar one to the people of Minneapolis, when, after some further business of minor importance, the Republican National Convention, at 10 P. M., adjourned *sine die*, having completed its labors, and placed in nomination before the people of the United States undoubtedly the strongest ticket that the grand roll of statesmen of the Republican party could offer for the suffrages of the people in the coming Presidential campaign.

Following the Convention, on June 20th, the committee appointed at Minneapolis called on President Harrison at Washington, and formally notified him of his renomination. The committee consisted of one member from each State and Territory, and Governor McKinley, of Ohio, was its spokesman. He said :

“President Harrison :—This committee, representing every State and Territory in the Union, are here to perform the trust committed to them by the National Republican Convention, which convened at Minneapolis, on June 7, 1892, of bringing you official notification of your nomination as the Republican candidate for President of the United States.

“ We need hardly assure you of the pleasure it gives us to convey this message from the Republicans of the country to their chosen leader. Your nomination was but the registering by the Convention of the will of the majority of the Republicans of the United States, and has been received in every quarter with profound satisfaction.

“ In 1888 you were nominated, after a somewhat prolonged struggle, upon a platform which declared with clearness the purposes and policies of the party if entrusted with power, and upon that platform you were elected President. You have had the good fortune to witness the execution of most of those purposes and policies, during the

administration of which you have been the head, and in which you have borne a most conspicuous part. If there has been failure to embody into law any one of those purposes or policies, it has been no fault of yours.

"Your administration has more than justified your nomination four years ago, and the confidence of the people implied by your election. After one of the most careful, successful and brilliant administrations in our history, you receive a renomination, furnishing an approval of your work which must bring to you the keenest gratification. To be nominated for a second term upon the merits of his administration is the highest distinction which can come to an American President. The difficult and embarrassing questions which confronted your administration have been met with an ability, with a fidelity to duty and with a lofty patriotism which fill the American heart with glowing pride. Your domestic policy has been wise, broad and statesmanlike; your foreign policy firm, just and truly American. Those have won the commendation of the thoughtful and conservative, and the confidence of your countrymen, irrespective of party, and will, we believe, insure your triumphant election in November.

"We beg to hand to you the platform of principles unanimously adopted by the Convention which placed you in nomination. It is an American

document. Protection, which shall serve the highest interests of American labor and American development; reciprocity, which, while seeking the world's markets for our surplus products, shall not destroy American wages or surrender American markets for products which can be made at home; honest money, which shall rightly measure the labor and exchanges of the people and cheat nobody; honest elections, which are the true foundation of all public authority—these principles constitute for the most part the platform—principles to which you have already by word and deed given your earnest approval, and of which you stand to-day the exponent and representative. Other matters treated of in the platform will have your careful consideration.

"I am bidden by my associates, who come from every section of the Nation, to assure you of the cordial and hearty support of a harmonious and united Republican party.

"In conclusion, we desire to extend to you our personal congratulations, and to express our gratification at the rare honor paid you by a renomination, with a firm faith that the destinies of this great people will be confided to your care and keeping for another four years."

In response, President Harrison spoke as follows:

"Governor McKinley and Gentlemen of the Committee:—When four years ago, on the anni-

versary of the declaration of our National independence, a committee designated by the Republican National Convention, held in Chicago, came to my home in Indianapolis, to notify me of my nomination for the Presidency, my sense of gratitude, great as it was, was forced into the far background by an overwhelming sense of the responsibility of leadership in a civil contest that involved so much to my country and to my fellow-citizens. I could not hope that much would be found when the record of a quiet life had been brought under the strong light of public criticism to enthuse my party followers, or upon which an assurance of adequacy for the highest civil affairs might be rested. No one so much as I realized that the strength of the campaign must be found in Republican principles; and my hope was that nothing in life or word of mine might weaken the appeal of our American policies to the American heart. That appeal did not fail. A Republican President and Vice-President and a Republican Congress were chosen.

"The record has been made, and we are now to submit it to the judgment of a patriotic people. Of my own relation to the great transactions in legislation and in administration which must be the basis of this judgment, it does not become me to speak.

"I gratefully accept, sir, the assurance given by the Republican State Conventions and by the

National Convention, through you, that no charge of inadequacy or delinquency to principle has been lodged against the administration. The faithful and highly successful work done by the able heads of the executive departments, and by our representatives abroad, I desire most cordially to acknowledge and commend. The work of the Fifty-first Congress, in which you, sir, bore so conspicuous and useful a part, will strongly and most beneficially influence the National prosperity for generations to come.

"The general results of three years of Republican control have, I believe, been highly beneficial to all classes of our people. The home market for farm products has been retained and enlarged by the establishment of great manufacturing industries; while new markets abroad of large and increasing value, long obstinately closed to us, have been opened on favored terms to our meats and breadstuffs, by the removal of unjust discriminating restrictions and by numerous reciprocal trade agreements under section 3 of the McKinley bill. These acts of administration and legislation can now fortunately be judged by their fruits. In 1890, it was a conflict of predictions; now our adversaries must face trade statistics and prices current.

"But it is not appropriate that I should at this time discuss these public questions. I hope before long to be able by letter to convey to you a

more formal acceptance of the nomination which the National Republican Convention has tendered me, and to give briefly my reasons for adhering to the declaration of principles adopted by the Convention, and which you have so admirably summarized.

"Will you accept, sir, for yourself and your associates upon the committee, and for the whole body of the great Convention, whose delegates you are, my profound thanks for this great honor? And will you, sir, allow me to express my most sincere appreciation of the gracious and cordial terms in which you have conveyed this message?"

On the day following, a similar committee, with Senator F. T. Dubois, of Idaho, at its head, called upon Mr. Whitelaw Reid, at his home, at Ophir Farm, Purchase, N. Y., and officially informed him of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Dubois said :

"Mr. Reid:—The National Republican Convention recently held in Minneapolis, selected a representative from each State and Territory from among its delegates to notify you that the great Republican party of the Nation had selected you as its candidate for Vice-President of the United States. Speaking for them, it is now my pleasing duty to give you that formal notification."

"This honor, one of the highest which a free and thoughtful people can bestow, came to you unsought and with a unanimity rarely witnessed.

"Your constant, consistent and effective advocacy of Republican measures for many years, and the honor and dignity with which you represented our country abroad, have merited for you this distinction.

"The American people appreciated the patient and skilful diplomacy by which you opened the markets of France to the product of the American farmer. The market is the ultimate object of all nations in modern politics, and your success in that great field will command for you the hearty approval of the producers of the United States.
[Loud applause.]

"We believe that the people will sustain Republican principles, will indorse the personality of our standard bearers, and that the wisdom of our action at Minneapolis will be fully demonstrated by your triumphant election at the polls in November next."

Every one listened attentively to the young Senator's speech, and they applauded it with much earnestness and enthusiasm. Mr. Reid's reply was as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:— Your visit at my home and this formal statement deepen on my mind the impression which the known act of the Convention had already produced. The occasion is too great for the expression of merely personal feelings. Even my natural and heartfelt sense of gratitude, for the confidence shown and the high

trust devolved, seems in this case too unimportant to those you represent for more than a word.

"The party which has guided this country on its path of unparalleled prosperity with but four years' interval since 1860, gives official notice through its duly authorized representatives, in forty-four independent States and five Territories, of its choice for the second office within the gift of sixty-five millions of freemen, who cover a continent and are soon also to possess once more the seas. A profound sense of responsibility and a most earnest desire to discharge the trust you have reposed, to the satisfaction now of those you represent, and if successful, for the best interests of the country afterward, are the overmastering emotions of the hour.

"Not having sought the great honor you confer, as you have justly stated, I am the more prompt in saying that, as citizen and Republican, I shall not shrink from the duty you impose.

"There will be a more convenient opportunity for such expression of political convictions as may be thought appropriate to the times and to the actual issues. But having already carefully considered the statement of our party principles put forth by your Convention, I may say at once that I accept and adopt them in full. They are the principles and the party under the sway of which the country has attained its phenomenal growth and prosperity; under which the plain people

have ruled ; labor has been freed, honored, and better rewarded than elsewhere ; the largest example of equality before the law the world has yet seen has been secured, and education, morality and the general welfare have been promoted. To reject these principles and this party would be to indict the glorious history of the Nation for almost the past third of a century.

" You find a natural leader in the eminent public servant, the substantial results of whose wise and faithful administration furnish such inspiration for the canvass. I had expected to find associated with him my distinguished friend, who now adorns the office of Vice-President. As the delegation of my State, and with it the representatives of the party at large, have thought it politically wise to adhere here to the doctrine of rotation in office, it gives me the right to claim, not merely the earnest support of a united party, of which we are sure, but the best counsel and the most watchful personal assistance of all its faithful and experienced leaders without exception, to the end that this great Commonwealth may again throw its decisive vote, as it did four years ago, and indisputably can do again, on the Republican side.

" I cannot suppress on this occasion, in which he would have taken such a cordial interest, one word of affectionate recollection for my friend in so many Presidential campaigns, the great statesman, whose present cruel bereavement, following

hard upon two similar blows, has touched the tenderest sympathy of all, not merely of his political associates, but of both parties and of the whole country.

"My State, and I think I may venture to add, my profession, will appreciate the manner in which this nomination has been made and announced—deriving an added grace as it does from the unanimous vote, and from the character of this body of representative men from every section of our country.

"The political sky is bright with promise. It seems a Republican year; and invoking the favor of Almighty God upon a cause which we profoundly believe just, we may courageously face the contest with the confident hope of victory at the end."

CHAPTER X.

WHITE LAW REID.

MACAULAY has been described as a man who succeeded in everything he undertook. With equal fitness the same tribute might be paid to Whitelaw Reid, who was nominated for the Vice-Presidency at the Republican National Convention of 1892. Or it might be said of him, as he himself in one of his books has said of Grant, "Success succeeds." His career has, to this day, presented a series of high achievements, broken by no failures. Now and then difficulties have seemed insuperable, friends have despaired and enemies have exulted. But directly and triumphantly he made his way through, or over; never around or under. "Success succeeds."

This journalist, historian, business man, diplomat, statesman, scholar, social leader, political leader, was born of the famous old Scotch Covenanter stock, at Xenia, Ohio, in October, 1837. His father was Robert Charlton Reid; and his mother was Marian Whitelaw Ronalds, a descendant in direct line from the Clan Ronald, of the Highlands of Scotland. His paternal grandfather emigrated to this country toward the close of the last century, and, as one of its earliest pioneers,

settled in Kentucky ; but in 1800 he crossed the river and bargained for land upon the present site of Cincinnati. But he was a stern old Covenanter, and found his conscience uneasy, owing to a condition of the sale which required him to run a ferry every day of the week across the Ohio River. Sooner than violate the Sabbath, he gave up his bargain, and removing to Greene County, he became one of the earliest settlers in the township of Xenia. An uncle, Hugh McMillan, D. D., a Scotch Covenanter and conscientious man, took the task upon himself for fitting Whitelaw for college. Dr. McMillan was a trustee of Miami University, and principal of the old and long-noted Xenia Academy, which was then reckoned by the officers of Miami the best preparatory school in the State. As a teacher of classics and general instructor Dr. McMillan had a fine reputation. Under his instruction, his nephew was so well drilled in Latin that at the age of fifteen years he entered Miami as a sophomore, with a Latinist rank equal to that of scholars in the upper classes. This was in 1853, and in 1856 he was graduated with the scientific honors, the classical honors having by his own request been yielded to a classmate. Just after graduation he was made principal of the graded schools in South Charleston, Ohio, his immediate pupils being generally older than himself. Here he taught French, Latin, and the higher mathematics.

During this period he repaid his father the expense of his senior year in college, and, returning home at the age of twenty, he bought *The Xenia News* and for two years led the life of a country editor.

It was thus inevitable that he should drift into politics. The editor was then, as now, the political oracle of the community. Already, indeed, Mr. Reid had taken keen interest in public affairs. The year of his graduation at college was the year of the birth of the National Republican party. The principles of that organization strongly attracted the young man, and before his commencement oration was fairly out of his mind he began making stump speeches for the Republican candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency—Fremont and Dayton. He was a constant reader of the New York *Tribune*, and his own paper, the *News*, edited with vigor and such success as to double its circulation during his control of its columns, was conducted by him, as much as possible, after the model of that great humanitarian journalist he was destined to succeed.

In 1860, notwithstanding his personal admiration of Mr. Chase, he advocated the nomination of Mr. Lincoln, the *News* being the first Western newspaper outside of Illinois to do so; and its influence caused the election of a Lincoln delegate to the Republican Convention from the Xenia district, thus strengthening the break in the Ohio column which Governor Chase at the time so bit-

terly resented. After Mr. Lincoln's famous speech at the Cooper Institute in New York City and his return to the West, Mr. Reid went to Columbus to meet him, formed one of his escort to Xenia, and introduced him at the railroad station to the citizens. Subsequently he entered ardently into the business of the campaign, making speeches and acting as secretary of the Greene County Republican Committee. His exertions were too much for his health, and he was compelled to withdraw from the political arena and take a vacation. He traveled through the Northwest, visiting the extreme headwaters of the Mississippi and St. Louis rivers, and returned across the site of the present city of Duluth. The following winter he spent in Columbus as a legislative correspondent on an engagement with the *Cincinnati Times*. His letters from the Northwest in the *Cincinnati Gazette* during the summer of 1860 were favorably received, and, after a few weeks of his engagement with the *Times* had elapsed he obtained an offer at a higher figure from the *Cleveland Herald*, to be followed by a yet better offer from the *Cincinnati Gazette*. Mr. Reid undertook all three engagements, and by them was put in receipt of a good income for a journalist in those days, some \$38 a week; but the task of writing daily three letters, distinct in tone, upon the same dreary legislative themes, was a species of drudgery which severely tried

even his versatility and courage. Such discipline, however, rendered his later journalistic labors comparatively light and attractive.

At the close of that session of the Ohio Legislature he was made city editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, and filled that important position successfully until the War of the Rebellion came on. George B. McClellan, then a captain in the regular army, was ordered to serve in West Virginia. The Cincinnati *Gazette* Company thereupon directed Mr. Reid to accompany him as war correspondent. General Morris had command of the advance, and Mr. Reid, as representative of the then foremost journal in Ohio, was assigned to do duty as volunteer aide-de-camp, with the rank of captain. Then, over the signature of "Agate," began a series of letters which attracted general attention and largely increased the demand for the *Gazette*. After the West Virginia campaign terminated in the victory over Garnet's army and the death of General Garnet himself at Carrick's Ford, on Cheat River, Mr. Reid returned to the *Gazette* office, and for a time wrote editorial leaders. He was sent back to West Virginia and given a position on the staff of General Rosecrans. He served through the second campaign that terminated with the battles of Carnifex Ferry and Gauley Bridge. These battles he wrote an account of, and then returning to the *Gazette* office resumed his editorial

duties and helped organize the staff of correspondents the publishers of that journal had found it necessary to employ. In 1861-'62 he went to Fort Donelson, recorded the Tennessee campaign, arrived at Pittsburgh Landing weeks in advance of the battle fought there, and leaving a sick bed, was the only correspondent who witnessed the fight from its beginning to its close. It was his account of this battle, one of the most important of the war, that stamped him as a newspaper correspondent of the first class. Those ten columns of the *Gazette* were widely copied and published in extras by St. Louis and Chicago papers, and their writer was complimented by an advance in his already liberal salary.

At the siege of Corinth Mr. Reid was appointed chairman of the committee of the correspondents to interview General Halleck upon the occasion of the latter's difficulty with "the gentlemen of the press," which ended in their dignified withdrawal from the military lines.

Mr. Reid now went to Washington, in 1862, to be the correspondent there of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. His reputation as a brilliant "all-round" journalist was already national, and overtures were soon made to him to enter the service of other papers. A leading St. Louis paper made him a tempting offer, which he declined. Whereupon the *Gazette* company sold to him for a reasonable price a large share in that paper. With-

in two years his dividends paid for his shares of stock, and thus were laid the foundations of his fortune. As the correspondent of the *Gazette* at the National Capital he soon distinguished himself and attracted by his literary and executive ability the notice of Horace Greeley, who from that time became his highly appreciative and unswerving friend. Mr. Reid also performed one notable bit of war correspondence during his stay at Washington. This was in July, 1863. When Lee invaded Pennsylvania and the Army of the Potomac marched to drive him back, Mr. Reid hurried to the scene of conflict, and gave to the world, from the field of Gettysburg, another "Agate" letter which has become a classic among pen-pictures of great battles.

A visit to the South in 1865, as the companion of Chief Justice Chase on the trip made by the latter at the request of President Johnson, resulted in the production of Mr. Reid's first contribution to literature in the form of a book entitled *After the War; a Southern Tour*. This book is a fair reflex of its author's independent and healthful mind and practical experience of men and things, and an excellent record of the affairs of the South during the years immediately following the war. During this tour the business of cotton-planting appeared so remunerative that in partnership with General Francis J. Herron Mr. Reid engaged in it in the spring of 1866; but

when the crop looked most promising the army worm destroyed three-fourths of it. Even what remained, however, prevented the loss of their investment and induced Mr. Reid to try his fortune subsequently in the same business in Alabama ; but after two years, though not a loser, his gain was principally in business experience. During these years, however, he was otherwise engaged than in growing cotton. His *Ohio in the War*, two large volumes of more than a thousand pages each, was produced during the years when cotton-planting was his ostensible business. This work is a monument of industry and a model for every other State work of the kind. After the publication of this work Mr. Reid, in 1868, resumed the duties of a leader-writer on the *Gazette*.

On the impeachment of President Johnson he went to Washington and reported, carefully, that transaction. That summer Mr. Greeley renewed an invitation, made two or three times before, to Mr. Reid, to connect himself with the political staff of the *Tribune*. Mr. Reid finally accepted, and took the post of leading editorial writer, with a salary next in amount to that of Mr. Greeley and responsible directly to him. He wrote many of the leaders throughout the campaign that ended in the first election of Grant. Shortly afterward a difficulty between the managing editor and the publishers resulted in the withdrawal of the former, and Mr. Reid was in-

stalled in the managing editor's chair. In this advancement he retained the affection and unbounded confidence of his venerated chief, who, since the withdrawal of Mr. Dana to make his venture in Chicago and then to get the *Sun*, had not failed to observe the uncertainties and dangers attending this the most arduous of journalistic positions.

Thereafter Mr. Reid was to be credited with the notable achievements of the *Tribune* in news gathering and reporting; some of which startled the world and inaugurated a new era in journalism. During the Franco-German war of 1870-71, for example, the *Tribune*'s correspondents followed the armies in the field, and sent accurate and faithful reports of every engagement. They managed many times to anticipate other agencies in making public important intelligence, and it became necessary for the *Tribune* office to adopt stringent rules against letting copies of the morning's paper go out of the hands of its confidential agents until after the other papers had gone to press, in order to protect its news. The *Tribune* was the first paper to print an account of the decisive battle of August 18, 1870, at Gravelotte. Its cable report of that engagement cost the sum of \$5,000 in gold, probably the largest price ever paid for transmission of a piece of news. Its expenses for field-work and dispatches were about \$1,000 a day; and the paper kept long standing

at the head of its columns the notice: "The *Tribune* is the only newspaper in the United States fully represented by special correspondents with both Prussian and French armies, and at the leading capitals."

Establishing its own special telegraph line to Washington, it has been a common thing for the *Tribune* to print the leading points of the President's message a day before they were known to other journals, and even to give the report of the Secretary of the Treasury entire. In 1871, when the settlement of the Alabama claims was in progress, and the public were in excited suspense over the contents of the treaty that had been secretly agreed upon with the English government, the *Tribune* published the full text of the treaty before the Senate had made up its mind to admit the country into its confidence.

In 1878 the *Tribune* obtained possession of a large mass of the telegraphic dispatches, sent in cipher, by Mr. Tilden's confidential advisers during the Presidential campaign of 1876. These dispatches had passed between the Democratic headquarters in New York City and various points in South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon. They were composed of a jumble of numbers, geographical names and common words of the English language, utterly without meaning to the casual reader. Grave suspicions had been entertained that an attempt had been made to de-

feat the popular verdict in that election, by the purchase of electoral votes by the Democratic leaders of the North. The proof lay in these telegrams. The messages were placed in the hands of Mr. John R. G. Hassard, Mr. Reid's most trusted assistant, and afterward, Colonel William M. Grosvenor and one or two others of the editorial staff took part in the work of translation. Several weeks of persistent study were expended on this mass of mysterious correspondence. Finally one key after another to the various ciphers was discovered and the dispatches were translated. Their publication laid bare one of the most audacious conspiracies to thwart the popular will of modern times.

When Mr. Greeley became a candidate for the Presidency, in 1872, he withdrew entirely from the editorship of the *Tribune*, and named Mr. Reid as his successor. Mr. Reid was most reluctant to assume such responsibility; but at the earnest personal solicitation of Mr. Greeley he finally accepted it. He made for the Liberal party and its nominee a fight which forced him immediately into national prominence, and rendered his name and face almost as well-known from Maine to California as those of any editor save the great chief whom he succeeded. He was vigorously caricatured by *Harper's Weekly* and many of the other illustrated prints. He became in a few weeks the recipient of more

journalistic attention, hostile and otherwise, than ordinarily falls to the lot of an active man in as many years.

In 1873 Mr. Reid bought a majority of the stock of the *Tribune*. Being without the aid of an experienced publisher he undertook the entire management of the concern, editorially and financially, a task which involved him in years of unbroken toil and anxiety.

About 1870 the paper began to outgrow its modest quarters on Printing House Square. Preparations were made for putting up a new structure. A part of the earnings of the concern were set aside every year as a contribution toward a building fund. Two adjoining houses on Nassau Street, and in 1873 some property on Frankfort Street were purchased so as to give the *Tribune* a frontage of three streets. The entire business of the paper was moved into a building on Spruce Street and then began the demolition of the old *Tribune* building which had so long been a familiar sight from the City Hall Park. The work of tearing down was finished on the 31st of May, 1873. The progress of the new building was delayed by the failure of the granite contractor to comply with the stipulations of his agreement, and the extraordinary solidity and thoroughness of the workmanship consumed much more time than was originally supposed to be necessary. Nevertheless, the work went continually on toward completion.

On the thirty-fourth anniversary of the paper, possession was taken of the most thoroughly equipped newspaper office in the world, a structure towering ten stories above the sidewalk, and the first of the great fire-proof office buildings which have now sprung up in the business quarter of New York. The edifice rested on a concrete bed, placed 25 feet below the sidewalk. The foundation walls were built upon a first course of granite slabs, 16 inches thick, the largest being about 13 feet wide and weighing 10 tons. The first story above the sidewalk was constructed of granite, and the rest of the building above that of brick with sills, lintels, string courses, copings, and cornice of granite. The floors were made of iron beams, filled in with flat arches (if the term may be used) of hollow concrete blocks. The partition walls dividing the interior into rooms were also made of concrete blocks. Attention was paid in every part of the building, including the roof, to securing imperishable strength and especially to making it absolutely safe against fire. From the beginning of the foundation to the point of the spire is a distance of 285 feet. From the cellar to the top of the roof 171 feet. The finial at the top of the spire is 260 feet from the sidewalk.

The beautiful structure, completed in 1875, was, however, only a part of the original plan of the building. In 1881 a new wing was added to

the rear of the building, running through to Frankfort Street, and carried up to a height of eleven stories above the sidewalk. The capacity of the whole building was more than doubled by this addition, making it the largest newspaper building in the world. The edifice now has a frontage of 92 feet on Printing House Square and 100 feet on Spruce Street. The depth of the wing running through from Spruce to Frankfort Street is 167 feet. The counting-room of the *Tribune* is in the front of the building, on the corner of Spruce Street, and at its entrance, on a massive granite pedestal, is a fine bronze statue of its illustrious founder.

Mr. Reid and the *Tribune* have been for many years a potent force in the direction and support of the Republican party. In 1883, Mr. Reid took a leading part in the reorganization of that party in New York City. As a member of a committee appointed for that purpose, he submitted the following proposals :

"The ideal organization would be one in which every Republican voter would cast his ballot for the selection of candidates for local offices, and of delegates to State Conventions, and the voice of the majority in the party thus fairly ascertained should make the ticket. Whether this Primary Election system would work well in a great city may perhaps be doubted by many practical politicians.

"Any plan that may be preferred should, in my opinion, rest upon two cardinal principles :

(1.) Every resident of the district who voted for the last Republican Presidential ticket should be entitled to a voice. If we are to have a great united party, capable of success and in the spirit to achieve it, that should be the only test of partisan orthodoxy.

(2.) No man should be asked for any pledge whatever as to how he will vote in the future. The very best elements in the Republican party —those that have given it its success and glory —are precisely those that would refuse to tie themselves up by such a pledge. The way to tie them to a ticket is to give every man a fair chance for his equal voice in making it, and let every man see that it is the majority that rules. Where that plan prevails the Republican party is rarely distracted by schisms and never demoralized by its occasional defeats."

These ideas were promptly adopted, the reorganization of the party was effected on that very basis, and great good was the result.

In December, 1878, President Hayes offered Mr. Reid the position of Minister to Germany, to succeed the Hon. Bayard Taylor, but Mr. Reid declined it, saying : "The work in which I am now engrossed, which is also a public duty, seems to give greater opportunities—for me, at least—for serving the country and advancing those views of

public policy which we agree in thinking essential to its prosperity than any that would be offered in the new field you propose." A few years later, President Garfield again offered and urged upon Mr. Reid the same distinguished appointment, but again it was declined.

A third time a foreign mission was offered to him. This was the post of Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to France, offered by President Harrison in 1889. Mr. Reid accepted it and resigned his editorship of the *Tribune*. Many tributes of farewell were offered to him before he sailed. The famous Lotos Club, of New York, of which he had long been president, gave him a dinner on April 27, at which a most distinguished company was present. On this occasion Mr. Reid said:

" You have been good enough to mention with approval the nomination to a foreign post with which the President has honored me. The kindness with which that nomination has been received here, where all are friends, and the similar kindness shown alike by friends and foes, in the press and in the community, have touched me deeply. It is now 21 years since I began work in New York. During that whole time the journal with which I was connected has been waging a constant and unequal warfare—sometimes quite single-handed, and generally pretty lonely—and there have been ugly blows given and taken. To

find at the end of it, the entire press of the city, with exceptions too slight to be noted, uniting in approval of the appointment and in most generous treatment of myself—this, Mr. President, is a distinction indeed, and one which I value more highly than the office itself. And now, on the eve of my departure, the greetings of this club, the presence of this distinguished company of representative men, the good-will of all, which you have so felicitously expressed, will be to me always a priceless remembrance. More perhaps than many men, I know how to value it. For I know well this great city in which I have worked so long; I know her merchants, her professional men, and her politicians, her men of letters and her men of leisure, her artists, her artisans, and her laboring men. I know her clubs and I know her churches. I am a citizen of no mean city, and to bear, even in a small degree, the approval of such a community is to wear a decoration that should gratify any man's ambition.

"Incredible would be the dullness of the man who did not prize the distinction of representing his country at the most brilliant capital of Europe to that marvelous people who have so often swayed the destinies of the Old World and have left so enduring and beneficent a record in the history of the New World—our one historic ally, faithful through a century of unbroken friendship, and doubly endeared to us now by kindred government and common aspirations.

“The land of sunshine and of song,
Her name your hearts divine,
To her this banquet’s vows belong
Whose breasts have poured its wine.

“Our trusty friend, our true ally,
Through varied change and chance;
So fill your flashing goblets high,
I give you, Vive la France !

“Once more, the land of arms and arts,
Of glory, grace, romance,
Her love lies deep in all our hearts,
God bless her, Vive la France !”

On the very eve of his departure, May 3, 1889, Mr. Reid was entertained by about 50 of his old associates on the *Tribune* staff at a farewell dinner at Delmonico’s famous hotel, in New York. Many interesting speeches were made, one of the most eloquent being that of Mr. William Winter, the distinguished poet, dramatic critic, and *litterateur*, who thus expressed the sentiments of the *Tribune* staff regarding their former chief:

“The whole career of Whitelaw Reid—a career of intellectual and of practical labor, as a man of action, extending over a period of more than 30 years—has been one incessant warfare for human rights; and at no moment of it has he ever neglected to advocate any and every idea tending toward the advancement of the human race. As the animating and guiding and controlling spirit—the brain and the heart—of a great public journal, he has displayed in marvelous affluence the capacity of comprehending every condition of con-

temporary experience, and of entering into every noble aspiration of the actual life of his time. To do this, and to confer upon all these aspects of general vitality and of individual character the utterance of picture and of voice—so that, whether their result be failure and ruin or victory and renown, every phase of humanity shall be shown exactly as it is in its struggle—is to be a great journalist; and such a journalist is Whitelaw Reid. Nobody can wonder that such a man should be chosen to represent the American Republic in what, to Americans, is certainly the most important post in Europe; and nobody can doubt that he will represent our Nation there with the same calm wisdom, the same affluent and splendid ability, the same intrepid spirit, and the same unerring taste and grace and refinement that have marked the whole of his career."

The next morning Mr. Reid sailed for France, and soon entered upon his duties there. A few weeks later he took a conspicuous part in the Fourth of July celebration in Paris, when a bronze model of Bartholdi's great statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" was unveiled in that city. President Carnot and other eminent Frenchmen were in attendance, and Mr. Reid delivered an address, in which he said:

"The flags that float above our heads glow with the same colors of beauty and glory, the Red, White, and Blue. They speak a language

common to both of us and understood by all the world. They tell of fields where they have shared a happy triumph. They recall historic names which are ours as well as yours, Lafayette and Rochambeau. They tell the unbroken friendship of a hundred years. They tell of a progress, under their protecting folds, in civilization, in freedom, in humanity, that has reached in its wide and beneficent sweep, from Africa to Alaska. They promise the continuance of a noble rivalry between the two great Republics of the world in generous efforts to broaden the foundations of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; of liberty under law, of equality before the law, of a loyal fraternity in every worthy attempt or aspiration for the advancement of the race."

In all respects Mr. Reid's career as Minister to France was a brilliantly successful one. Few American diplomats of this generation have so distinguished themselves by public service abroad. As General Horace Porter well said at the Minneapolis Convention:

"Scarcely had he been installed in office when there fell upon him for solution the most complicated, the most intricate questions that had ever arisen in diplomacy between the two countries. That he solved them successfully and met them boldly is a mark of inexpressible pride to every one who honors the American flag.

"In the exhibits at the French Exposition he

brought order out of chaos. He negotiated a most important extradition treaty. He succeeded in securing France as the first nation to accept our nation's invitation to the International Columbian Fair. He secured France as the first nation to give her consent to the terms of our international copyright. He negotiated there an important reciprocity treaty, and last he achieved his greatest triumph in that warfare of intellectual giants in securing the repeal of the prohibitory duties put upon American pork.

"He showed himself the master of modern diplomacy throughout these complicated transactions, and he retained the absolute confidence of his own government and secured the respect of the French government, to which he was accredited. His duty was done, he resigned the office which he never sought and made manifest his feeling that the post of honor is the private station."

Mr. Reid resigned his ministry in the spring of 1892. Before he left Paris to return home a farewell banquet was given to him by the American residents of the French Capital, about 300 guests being present, including many eminent members of the French government. An address was read by Mr. King, the American Consul-General, expressing the esteem in which the retiring Minister was held by his countrymen abroad, and summarizing the results of his diplomatic activi-

ties. Said Mr. King, addressing the guest of the evening :

" We, your fellow-citizens, desire to mark our warm appreciation of the able, dignified, and successful manner in which you have fulfilled the duties of your high office during the last three years. At the very beginning of your diplomatic functions you were confronted with innumerable intricate questions arising out of the opening of the French Exposition of 1889, which, as well as the constant calls upon your time and patience, were successfully met by the judgment, foresight, and courtesy which have invariably distinguished your official career.

" We have not forgotten, moreover, that you secured from France the first official acceptance by any nation of our Government's invitation to the World's Columbian Exposition. The intimate personal relations which you cultivated and have maintained with different members of the Government, and the esteem and respect in which you are held in France, have largely contributed to the substantial completion, as announced by the French press and officials, of a new extradition treaty, more than doubling the number of extraditable crimes ; and of a commercial convention providing for reciprocity for certain articles, in return for the free admission of hides, sugar, and coffee. Your fruitful labors for copyright and for the repeal of the duty on works of art have like-

wise earned the applause of your countrymen ; and, as the crowning act of your career, the long negotiations for the removal of the prohibition of American pork—a question of the first importance to the United States—after unceasing efforts extending over eleven years, have triumphantly closed through the vigor, tact, and wisdom of your exertions.

“ The thoughtful courtesies you have extended not only to those resident in the capital, but also to Americans passing through Paris, as well as to members of the Government and the people of France, in which you have been so effectively aided by your accomplished wife, have strengthened and confirmed the reputation of our country for kindly hospitality. In fact, it can truthfully be said that no American Minister has more faithfully and admirably administered his trust than yourself. In view, therefore, of the universal appreciation of your character and services, we have ventured to tender you this farewell banquet, and beg to express the hope that, in returning to your native land, with the added experience of well-spent years abroad, you will find a new field of usefulness, the increasing regard of your countrymen, and the enjoyment of every happiness.”

Mr. Reid returned to America in April, and was received with such a chorus of welcome and praise as few men have ever enjoyed. Newspapers of all parties vied with each other in offer-

ing tributes to him. The New York Chamber of Commerce made him an honorary member, a most unusual distinction, and entertained him at a banquet attended by the most eminent men of the nation. The Ohio Society, the Lotos Club, and other bodies similarly honored him.

Mr. Reid's purpose was to resume his old work at the head of the *Tribune* staff. But before he was ready to do so, the National Republican Convention at Minneapolis, on June 10, 1892, nominated him for the office of Vice-President of the United States.

Mr. Reid was, in 1878, elected by the New York Legislature a Regent of the State University, a life office. For many years he has held a distinguished position in the social and intellectual life of New York. His home in that city is on Madison Avenue, and is one of the finest residences in that palatial quarter. His country home is at Ophir Farm, Purchase, Westchester County, N. Y. This farm was, years ago, the home of Ben Holladay, the famous Pacific Coast expressman. He built there a huge stone castle, one of the finest country houses in America. From him the property passed into the hands of John Roach, the shipbuilder, and after the deaths of him and his son, it was purchased by Mr. Reid, in 1888. Soon after, the castle was destroyed by fire. Mr. Reid has since had it rebuilt on a larger scale.

In person Mr. Reid is rather above the average height, erect, and finely proportioned. His head is large and of a development that is the joy of every phrenologist who sees it; his countenance is open and kindly, yet commanding and dignified; his voice is gentle and expressive, and his manner genial. To his subordinates he is always approachable and sympathetic, and while requiring of them their best efforts, he is ever ready to instruct, to aid, and to counsel. He is now of course a man of great wealth, and uses his means liberally for the advancement of philanthropic purposes. Through his personal endeavors and largely at his personal cost, a great number of poor boys have been transplanted from the over-crowded tenements of New York to pleasant and healthful homes on Western farms, where they are making rapid progress toward independence and prosperity. For a number of years, also, the *Tribune* has been the medium of the collection and application of the *Tribune* Fresh Air Fund, through which every summer many thousands of poor children are taken from the slums of New York and placed in pleasant country homes for a two weeks' vacation each. It has been Mr. Reid's ambition to make the *Tribune* not only a great newspaper, a great literary and critical journal, and the leader of the best public opinion, but to make it also an agency for the welfare of the public in all departments of human

activity and interest; and his fame must be that through him, more than through any other man, that paper was brought to be characterized by the highest authority in Europe as "The leading American journal."